K. A. Rashid

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by

Lieut.-Col. K. A. Rashid

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DEDICATION

TO

THE CITIZENS OF MY
MOTHERLAND
PAKISTAN

I
HUMBLY

DEDICATE THIS SMALL VOLUME

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FOREWORD

Lieutenant-Colonel K. A. Rashid is one of the few non-professional Pakistani scholars who have attained fame as writers through their researches and published works. He has been associated with our Society and its research activities almost from the time of its inception. In spite of his official duties which entail heavy work, Lt.-Col. Rashid has made it a point to find time to attend our annual gatherings; he takes an active interest in these conferences and leaves an impression, both of his sociable personality and his literary work.

Not confined to a limited field of history, Lt.-Col. Rashid's researches have made a solid contribution to the study of various problems of Islamic and Indian history. His studies cover a vast field in the history and culture of Islam and the Muslim lands; of particular interest are his essays on Military Architecture, Inscription of Margalla and Admiral Barbarossa. They throw light on aspects of our cultural heritage, and I have no doubt that they will be read with interest not only by the students of Indian and Islamic history but also by the general reader.

The Pakistan Historical Society have decided to publish his *Essays* in the form of a book, because some of them contain the results of his solid researches

on the history and archaeology of Pakistan—a subject which is not receiving adequate attention from our scholars.

1 *November*, 1961

S. MOINUL HAQ

PREFACE

THESE essays have been written during the last ten years and have been published in various journals. The primary intention is to preserve them, and present them to the general public, who may be interested in the subject matter discussed. The papers are a research work drained from the original sources of history. Most of the subjects are entirely new in their content, and some of them are elaborations on past work. There is plenty of scope for further work for those desiring to proceed ahead.

The author claims no finality in the subject he has discussed. This is the privilege of the professional archaeologists and the historians. History and archaeology are inseparably bound up with each other. In fact, the historical evidence at our disposal, I think, is mainly archaeological in one way or the other. This has been a matter of interest with me as a hobby, and during the course of my study, which has been varied, some historical facts of importance sprang up; and as luck would have it, I was able to search and verify the truth of many a problem of interest. It was also sheer luck that I visited places of historical interest, which normally do not fall to the lot of an historian to visit. This was a unique privilege. I availed of the opportunity to collect the data which

in my spare moments I collated to give shape to these papers, which I hope will produce an incentive in the public to study their national history at close quarters. Pakistan is full of history. Every stone here has a tale to tell. With little care and observation food for historical thought will be amply found and abundantly rewarded. Our history needs close scrutiny. All that is available in the original sources is not the whole truth. In fact a great deal is not history. History has to be built up from the existing data and from the new data that may be discovered.

When I speak of the history of our mother land, Pakistan, I mean both the Muslim and the Pre-muslim periods. As the histories of these two periods exist today, they need a great deal of revision, and re-evaluation. Manuscripts have to be searched and inscriptions re-deciphered. This is a work for the professional archaeologist and the historian. A great many manuscripts in Persian and Arabic are awaiting in hidden corners to see the light of the day. Private Libraries that are lying in outlying villages have been inherited by illiterate people who do not even know how, or have the means, to preserve them. To find out where each library is lying in the country and to catalogue them is not the job of individuals. This work has to be tackled on Government level. The manuscripts must be catalogued and their list circulated to scholars. What wealth lies hidden in them can only be appreciated once these manuscripts are made known.

The Government also needs to step up its tourist facilities and make available in places of importance, such information as would be useful to the tourist. Books for tourists are also not available in the form they should be. In London alone a beautifully brought

up Brochure with coloured reproductions is available in respect of every monument of historical interest. But in our country no real effort has been made so far to attract the public by such publications. It is even regrettable to see that some books which are of extreme importance are out of print—and instead of re-publishing them with up-to-date illustrations, other publications copied from the same sources are pouring into the market—for what purpose, heaven only knows. No books worth the name also exist which could be easily available to the tourist at reasonable price concerning the histories of other important places. This is mainly the work of the Archaeological and Information Departments, and has to be tackled again on the governmental level.

Our museums need a great deal of improvement. It will be agreed that the museums in a country are the real information imparting institutions regarding the history of a country. We claim at the top of our voice that we are the biggest Muslim nation—but, I regret to say that we have smaller and poorer museums as compared to what our brothers in Egypt, Iraq and Iran have. If they have historical places to drain their treasures from, so do we. Why cannot we then improve our museums?

Even today considerable material is obtainable from the curiosity shops of London, and Paris, with which enormous museums could be built up. Why cannot we buy this? Why cannot our people donate articles of interest which they have inherited; or, for the matter of that, if they do not wish to donate, why cannot they start private museums of their own which could be open to the public, for the general benefit? Our museums are very poorly represented. Even items of Islamic culture are very poor

and scarce. We can only take pride in our national history and culture when they are displayed profusedly for every one to see. And when we see nothing, what have we to feel proud of.

It has been observed through history—with a few exceptions, of course—that historians are inclined to write "indoor histories"! They must visit every place and see for themselves the locations and study the "place names" regarding which a great deal of confusion exists to day in our original and recent sources of history. (A great many places have been lost to us due to wrong names and locations.) The historian must make himself conversant with the art of map reading and orientation in relevant localities. He must also get into the interior of the country and study the ancient routes of communications and invasions. All this is too important to need any stress, and without this initial spade work no useful work can ever be done by any historian. I must here draw the attention of the Pakistan historians to the valuable documents known as the District Gazetteers. These documents were originally compiled by the District Officers, who were initially military officers and later civil servants. Today, it is impossible to work on any historical project without the aid of these gazetteers. They contain a large amount of historical, archaeological and sociological information. The original compilers recorded every inch of the districts, which they visited on horse back and on foot, to give the minutest of details. But alas! these gazetteers have been ignored completely and are perhaps only to be found in departmental libraries. There has been no additions/amendments/improvements to them—in fact, they have totally disappeared from the 'scene'. But some of the writers, who come

across them very cleverly copy material and convert it to their own use without any reference to the original sources. This historical plagerism is responsible for the lack of good historians in our country. These gazetteers must be re-edited and made up to date and put into the market. It is also the duty of the District Officers to bring them up to date in so far as it concerns their side purely. I am of the opinion that an excellent history of Pakistan can be composed by putting together the historical portions of all District Gazetteers, which can be improved and illustrated. A history thus composed will be a reliable history.

I am grateful to Dr. S. Moinul Haq, M.A., PH.D., General Secretary and Director of Research, Pakistan Historical Society, for undertaking the publication of this book on behalf of the Society. He has not only gone through the manuscript but has also written a Foreword, for which I am indeed indebted to him.

The Pakistan Historical Society has done commendable work. Besides holding Annual Conferences regularly, it has published valuable works, which have added to the intellectual legacy of Pakistan. The Society stands unparalleled in its achievement as far as the promotion of an historical sense in our people is concerned.

In the end, I have to thank Mr. Ghaffar Ahmad Mufti for typing the manuscript.

K. A. RASHID

KARACHI-4;
October, 1961.



Khair-ud-Din Barbarossa II
(Reproduced from History of the Rassio-Turkish War Volume I)
(Front-piece)

MILITARY ARCHITECTURE IN PAKISTAN

FROM the earliest times in history, after man had settled down, we find him building fortified defences in the shape of walls and encircled settlements to protect himself against his enemy, which has paradoxically been always himself. "The primitive hunters had doubtless fought, but it had probably never been organized fighting.... the early ages of human life were probably on the whole peaceful; deliberate and organized warfare was not necessary and did not pay. War began as settled man quarrelled over his property and his privileges."[1] Armies became another new invention of man. It is true that self-protection is the primary need of civilized man, other needs being subservient to this primary need of human beings. It is also true, that the arts of peace cannot flourish until people have settled down and are well defended, and have time to devote attention to other occupations. Hence from times immemorial man has rightly sought to build himself strong defences to protect himself and to preserve his progeny.

In Pakistan, the development of military architecture is linked up with the general development of such architecture elsewhere, all over the world. In discussing this, therefore, we shall be forced to

wander about some of the centres of ancient civilizations, and find out the various links that have led to this evolution. Pakistan ranks amongst the earlist places where civilization first showed signs of establishment. And as civilization has moved from place to place in a spiral fashion, the art of building military defences, has also moved likewise, developing according to the conditions of warfare, and the materials available in that country. The change was not only from simple mud walls to highly specialised stone and mortar structures; but it also pertains to refinement of individual parts of the structures which we shall presently discuss in detail.

Defensive Walls

In the early days of our civilization, we find man building simple walls to defend his areas of habitation. These were first made of mud, then of sun and kiln-baked bricks, and finally they were followed by walls of stone and mortar, with intervening stages of small and large diaper masonry. In each case the materials used represent the stages of civilization at a particular time. We have records in history of many a wall which was built as defensive structure and served to cut off adjoining countries. These very walls in later times evolved into encircled settlements, forts, fortresses, castles and watch-posts. But, the habit of constructing walls to cut off one's neighbours, for defensive purposes, has not ceased to be practised by man in the twentieth century. We have examples of them in the Siegfreid and the Maginot Lines which were built during World War II. The wall, therefore, can be considered as the fore-runner of our military architecture, each variety of which has continued to develop independently. To enumerate a few such

walls, there is the Great Wall of China. This is an extensive structure built to cut off certain tribes who invaded China. It was constructed in the third century B.C. and covers a length of 1,500 miles. It has towers at intervals of 200 yards, and on an average attains to a height of 40 feet. It is built out of stone and mortar.[2] Similarly, the Wall of Gog and Magog was built in such a way as to cut off the Mongolian tribes and prevent them from invading the Iranian plateau. Even the details of its construction are to be found in the Holy Quran to this day. Its builders not only used stone and mortar in its construction, but also utilised iron plates and molten lead to strengthen it. Remnants of it are traceable to this day in Northern Caucasia, extending from Poti on the Black Sea to Baku on the Caspian Sea.[3] Then there was the Great Wall of the Romans, built in the North of England. Traces of this are also to be seen to this day. And in modern times, although, the art of military architecture has advanced to a very great extent, yet, during World War II, we see two similar walls being built opposite to each other, on modern lines, to serve the same purpose. This was primarily with a view to local defence by each country. Such walls were always built along strategic points which allowed a minimum span to defend a maximum area. The Siegfried and the Maginot Lines are equipped with centrally controlled artillery, and other automatic mechanically controlled devices, which marks the height of military architectural achievements.

Periods of Civilization

In Pakistan, the construction of military architecture has varied from time to time and from place to place, according to periods of its civilization and, the

type of warfare and weapons employed in fighting. Climate has had very little to do with this; even the type of terrain has not much affected the development, except for the materials it produced. Local cultures influenced it to some extent. The general plan, except for the materials employed, has remained the same throughout the ages. But the component parts of such defences have undergone a great change; and it is the study of the development of these component parts that forms the subject of our study now. We shall endeavour to discuss these developments under the following heads:—

1. The Pre-Muslim Period:
    a. Indus Valley Fortifications
    b. Taxila Valley Fortifications
    c. The Hindu Period Fortifications
2. The Muslim Period:
    a. The times of Muhammad Bin Qasim and Mahmud of Ghazna
    b. The Delhi Sultanate period
    c. The Mughal Period
3. The Modern Period:
    a. The Sikh and the British Period
    b. The Period of Aerial Warfare
    c. The Period of Atomic Warfare

We can also present this classification in another way, which perhaps, from the military point of view would serve our purpose better; viz.—

1. The Pre-Gunpowder Period
2. The Post-Gunpowder Period

In modern times aerial warfare has rendered our medieval military architecture completely ineffective, and the invention of atomic weapons has totally changed our outlook on defensive warfare. The ancient forts have gone out of vogue; new concrete

bunkers and underground defences are now being planned to give overhead protection. We shall leave the modern period for the future historian to deal with.

The Pre-Muslim Period

The three periods described under this head fall into two categories—the Pre-Historic and the Historic Periods. In the pre-historic period, man was using hammers, stone choppers, and spears, which were chiselled out of flint, and tied to wooden handles. Traces of such war material have been discovered in the valleys of the Sohan and the Indus, and also in the suburbs of Khairpur Mirs and in Taxila. As the use of iron was discovered, it took the place of flint, and we find the sword, and the shield, and armour, coming in. This change from the Stone to the Iron Age shows a slight improvement in our defensive arrangement.

Initially people built their settlements on elevated places like high mounds, and in valleys, surrounded by high hills, which helped to afford natural protection from the attacks of the enemy. Later on these settlements were encircled by walls of varying heights—at first of mud, then of sun and kiln-baked bricks, and finally of masonry made from stone. Perhaps, there was an odd ditch or a moat here and there; for, the art of making moats also has been known since time immemorial. In our opinion moat making came much after wall building in the Iron age. There were no separate forts, the like of which we see today. The population usually lived with the headman or the king in the same town, which was the main city. Later on, in historical times, we find these settlements assuming shapes of well-planned cities, such as we

find in Moenjo Daro, Harappa and Taxila. In Moenjo Daro and Harappa, the masonry work is of sun-baked and kiln-baked bricks, while in Taxila it is of small and large diaper masonry. The walls surrounding these cities have also assumed greater heights, and we see gates appearing for the first time which are of rectangular type.

Forts, Castles and Fortified Towns

The Fort as we see it today with its arched gateways, machicolations, musketry slits and barracks is essentially a medieval structure, primarily of Muslim origin. It had no place in history prior to Islam, either in Europe or in this sub-continent. Defence was essentially carried out in fortified settlements, which were cities or small towns surrounded by high walls interspersed with rectangular, polygonal and semicircular towers in the shape of bastions. A fort is necessarily a building which is not used for residential purposes permanently for the general population. The public if living in its vicinity, moves within it only at the time of emergency when the city is threatened by the enemy. The Fort has very high walls of architectural significance, and massive gates arranged in a tactical fashion, and living barracks for the posted garrison. We shall presently discuss these aspects in full detail. It is quite true that in later times in India the Mughals did build for themselves huge palace-forts; but these were never used for military purposes. They were more used as living palaces and durbar halls. The fact remains, that these were peace time constructions to keep the unemployed employed! They were built on the plan of forts to give them a sense of security, and also perhaps, in time of an emergency to give protection to the emperors.

As an example of pre-historic defences we can cite the example of a small settlement on a mound near Khairpur Mirs called DIJI WARI TAKRI, which just overlooks the Kotdiji Fort. Two mounds are visible behind the enclosed town, upon which settlements were established in far off days, and from where recently, implements have been discovered of the Stone Age period.

In the historic period we come across examples of fortified settlements, as in the valley of Taxila. The city of SIRSUKH in Taxila is surrounded by a medium height wall of about 18 feet in thickness, remnants of which are traceable. This city was founded in the second century A.D. by the Kushans. The walls are constructed with large diaper masonry. It is three miles long. This wall has semi-circular bastions, situated 90 feet apart. They were accessible from the interior by a passage. The walls and the bastions are pierced with loopholes for the arrows. The semi-circular bastions appear for the first time in this place in this subcontinent.[4] The stone masonry was introduced a century earlier and was brought into use for the first time in the Parthian Period.[5]

In MOENJO DARO, the masonry is that of sun-baked and kiln-baked bricks. A tall structure is visible on the left side of the high wall which forms the fortification of the main town. This wall runs to a height of 40 feet, and has rectangular projections interspersed at intervals.[6] Sir Mortime Wheeler has called them towers; but, in our opinion they are simply structures to reinforce the walls. They are not visible from the outside as a tower should be, nor are they accessible from the interior. Wheeler thinks that this wall served as a sort of bund to prevent the Indus water from flowing into the town in times of flood.

This is not true; for, the citadel inside the wall is itself raised 30 feet above the plain by an artificial platform. There was no need for this bund. Most of the forts located by the banks of rivers have high walls which also serve to give protection from floods. But this is not the primary object of their construction.

Such settlements are to be seen in the Middle East also. The city of Ninevah may be mentioned as an example. This resembles the city of Sirkap in Taxila. Its location and high walls are very much the same; although, the material used is very different. Khorasabad, the city of Sargon II (714 B.C.), which is situated about ten miles from Ninevah, was also a fortified town the remains of which are visible today. Babylon, had similar fortifications, which can now be seen only in reconstructions.[7]

(2)

The ancient fortified settlements in the Hindu Period in India, were known by several names; such as, KOT, PUR and GARH. These do not mean forts, but fortified settlements as has been mentioned. There is a vast difference between these terms. The early Muslim historians have recorded their description very faithfully, and have called such places "Hisars." This means a fortified settlement and not a fort. The sense of a fort as we know it today is not implied in these terms. Unfortunately, a wrong meaning has been given to these terms, which authors like Al-Beruni, Gardezi and Utabi did not intend to convey. "Even as late as the fourth century B.C., we find Megasthenese stating that Pataliputra, the capital of Chandragupta, was surrounded by a wooden wall pierced with loopholes for the discharging of arrows."[8]

All the existing forts built in this subcontinent by the Hindus appeared after the Muslim occupation

of this country. The very plan and structure testifies to their Saracenic origin. Even the forts of Kangra and Shivgarh in Poona were constructed during the Muslim periods and show remarkable influence of Muslim architecture. These structures have no connection with pre-Muslim styles. Even Hiuan Tsiang mentions fortified towns, such as Hund, and not forts, in his travels. Sir Mortimer Wheeler wrongly thinks that the term PUR used for the cities of the aborigines means a fort. Authoritative sources do not confirm his assumptions. PUR means variously City, Town, Full, Filling, Son, etc. (Platts).[9] Vedic hymns brought in evidence to support the existence of forts in ancient Vedic times in India have also been given a wrong meaning: "Puramdara", is not "Fort destroyer", but, "City destroyer".

Hindu architecture in the pre-Muslim days also differed greatly in its forms and features from architecture of the later period. One peculiarity which strikes us, is that they did not specialise in making open structures. Their stress lay on the profusion of images in closed-in temples or rocks. The Muslims on the other hand kept the view open towards surrounding nature, whether in a mosque or a fort.

Prior to introducing this sort of architecture in India, the Muslims had carried the art of fort building in Europe. This was during and after the Crusades. But at the time of the invasion of Muhammad Bin Qasim, the Muslims had themselves not yet evolved this art. It is for this reason that we do not find him building such structures in Sind. The short duration of his stay may perhaps have been another cause. He did not find any such structure either, except for the fortified settlements which his historians mention as Hisars. (حصار)

The Muslim Period

It is an undisputed fact, that the early Muslims spent their time either in fighting for their survival, or in prayers, offering thanks to the Almighty. Therefore, of necessity they built two things; viz., the Fort and the Mosque. The remarkable thing about these two structures is this: they retained their own individuality, wherever they went, no matter how diverse their origins may have been. As our subject is military architecture and not religious, we shall confine ourselves to the history of the Fort so far as the Muslims are concerned.

Most of the military architecture produced by the Muslims was from the end of the ninth century A.D. to the twelfth century A.D., and this happened in the early Crusade period in Syria and Egypt. The Crusaders borrowed ideas from the Muslims. "It is admitted that the Crusaders gleaned ideas from fortresses of Syria and Egypt."[10] And further, "The European use of Machicolations for example, came from this source."[11] (Machicolations are an arrangement of bold brackets or corbels, closely spaced, carrying a projecting parapet. Between each pair of brackets is an opening closed with a trapdoor through which arrows, boiling oil or water, and other unpleasant things could be dropped on to the heads of the besiegers attempting to mine the bottom of the walls below.) In Pakistan this characteristic is noticeable in the Rohtas Fort near its gateways. This is the earliest example of this characteristic in Pakistan and was till then unknown in this sub-continent.

Forts in this country were built a century earlier than the earliest forts in Europe: Chateau Gaillard (1184), Chatillon (1186), Norwich (1187), and Winchester (1184). "It is, therefore, clear that the

Crusaders borrowed the idea from the Saracens and not vice versa."[12]

The style and planning of the forts in India and Europe varied with the conditions of warfare in the two countries. In Europe it also varied with the topography. The smaller the area, the less the dimensions of the structures. In Pakistan and India more land was available and hence bigger structures were build.

In this sub-continent the Muslims introduced large massive gateways which were arched. They were fixed with thickly pointed iron spikes. This was done with a double intention. Firstly, during peace time elephants were required to pass through these gateways for transportation purposes, and hence the arches of the gates had to be kept high. In pre-Muslim days the gates were of rectangular shape and opened straight into the sky, as there were no arches above them. Secondly, in time of war the same animal was utilized to break them open. It is said that the elephant was given intoxicants and made to strike his head against the heavily spiked gates and break them open. In the Middle East there were no elephants employed in warfare, except in very rare cases, and even those had to be imported from India. Battering-rams (Dababah), which are the forerunners of our modern tanks, were employed to break open the gates. Hence the necessity of introducing the spiked gateways did not arise. The Muslims also introduced better types of catapults, and hence they introduced higher and stronger walls of the tapering and sloping variety, which strengthened the defences and prevented the enemy from scaling them with ease. The catapult device was replaced with the Naphtha Balls, which had a nuisance value. The Hindu settlements had plenty of wood-work within the fortified area which

served as an admirable fuel to put the places on fire.

An important feature which the Muslims introduced in the construction of the gates, both in this subcontinent and in Europe, was its Double Crooked character. "Another feature of military architecture borrowed from Egypt and Syria was the right-angled or, 'crooked' entrance to the fortress through a gateway in the walls by means of which an enemy who had attained the gateway was prevented from seeing or shooting through it into the inner courtyard."[13] Not only this; "an entrance of this type does not seem to have been known to the Roman and Byzantine military science, in which successive defensive gates were placed on the same axis separated by a space known as the Propugnaculum. These crooked entrances were first used, so far as is known, in the 'Round City' of Baghdad (eighth century); again at Saladin's citadel at Cairo (begun 1176); and culminated in a fine example at the citadel of Allepo".[14]

In India, the fortified settlements had rectangular gates open at the top which rose only to the level of the walls. These usually opened into a wide courtyard or a street. At present all the forts in this sub-continent which are associated with the Hindu period but have the characteristics described above, are of Muslim period, built during their regime. They are influenced by the superior Muslim architecture.

Most of the forts built by the Muslims were located beside an already existing fortified town, the first line of defence. After the town had fallen to the enemy, the population shifted to the stronger defences inside the fort. It is obvious then, that, the whole population could not be accommodated within the fort; it is likely, therefore, that essential personnel were given refuge only, while the general population

was allowed to flee. The last battle was always fought around the forts, which were adequately provisioned for the garrison stationed within it. But, the forts were also built away from the cities, on the route of the invading armies. The characteristics of such forts built in this sub-continent after the arrival of the Muslims can be briefly enumerated in the following paragraph. We shall only discuss the characteristics which the Indian fortified settlements did not possess.

(3)

Walls of forts were taken to greater heights, and were made sloping. They became much thicker and more solid. The gates were fashioned in great arches and the way through them was crooked. Their heights were proportionately increased and iron spikes were fixed into them against the attack of intoxicated elephants. Inside the gates special rooms were provided for the guards. As the Muslims brought gunpowder with them, the arrow slits were replaced with slits for musketry, and for heavy guns along the interspersed towers. Barracks lay all along the inside of the walls, the roof of which served as parapets below the ramparts. Sometimes these were covered to form passages to afford greater security to the fighting soldier. To these essential structures were added a few residential quarters for officials. Arsenals were also built, and drummer's quarters (*naqqar khanah*) provided for . It will not be out of place to mention here that just as, "the wearing of the heavier mail by knights and the horses, the employment of Tabor and Nakr (*tambur* and *naqqarah*) in military bands, the conveying of military intelligence by carrier pigeons and the use of fire for signalling at night,"[15] was acquired by the Crusaders from the Muslims, similarly the instruments of warfare also were introduced

by the Muslims into this sub-continent.

In order to fully understand the underlying causes of the development of military architecture, it should be remembered that although the invention of gunpowder greatly influenced this development, it was not the main factor; nor were the stones hurled from catapults, Naphtha Balls, Dababah and the cannon balls, the only arms employed, against which security measures had to be taken. There were other tactical measures and devices which had to be guarded against. The art of mine-laying was known in those days, although in a crude form. Artillery was used as early as the Khilji period. They had even invented heavy artillery, while yet in Gujrat and the Deccan. This was modified into light artillery suitable for mountain warfare, as most of the fortifications located in that part of the country were situated on high hills, and heavy guns could not be transported with ease. Sometimes, this artillery would not prove very effective and hence mine laying had to be resorted to. This was achieved by filling the ditches with sand bags to allow a few persons to get to the base of the walls, which was broken into and a gap made for the explosive to be lodged into it. The walls of the fort had, therefore, to be increased in thickness at the base. In order to achieve this, the walls were made sloping and tapering. Hence in some of the forts we see the walls as thick as 40 feet. Not only this; the ditches also had to be made wider and deeper. This necessitated the construction of Draw Bridges. As a result of this, better methods of making ladders and ropes to scale the walls had to be invented. The tapering walls helped to strengthen the base.

Another interesting feature that affected the development of the walls was the principle of 'Cross

Fire' against the attackers. This important factor we find in all the fort walls built after the Muslim invasions of Europe and India. The walls were made zigzag to achieve this end; and it was to further reinforce this principle that gates were made crooked and double and out of line with each other. This served a twofold purpose. The approach became extremely difficult; firstly, on account of the cross fire which hampered the advance; and secondly, after having gained ground to capture the first gate an equal effort had to be made to get to the second gate where the opposition was equally great. It was not an easy walk-through as might otherwise have been thought. The most famous example of such a structure in Europe built after the Muslim fashion, is that of the castle of CAERNARVON in Wales, which is accepted to be the most scientific of medieval strongholds in Europe. This was built in 1285 A.D.,[16] three hundred years after such fortresses had been built by the Muslims in their own lands. The crusaders had come across them during their conflict with the Muslims.

(4)

In the Pre-Muslim period the gateways were usually rectangular, as the art of constructing arches out of stone and mortar was unknown in India and Europe. The Indians could, however, carve them out of rocks only. Hence the type of gates in their fortifications greatly differed from the massive structures built by the Muslims. It will not be out of place to recall here, that the early Indian architecture was predominantly based on woodwork combined with baked bricks. It was in the time of Asoka and the later Parthian period that stone was brought into use for the first time. But no arch was evolved. The gates

as we see them today are entirely a Muslim invention and are of Saracenic origin. Mr. Havell[17] detests this terminology, but the fact remains, that this type of structure can only be correctly classified as Indo-Saracenic architecture. Most of the present forts which go as Rajput forts are of Saracenic origin. An important example is that of the DARAWAR fort in Bahawalpur, of which we shall come to talk later. This fort was originally built by the Rajputs, no doubt, but its present state reflects a Muslim hand, which put it into its present form in the days of the Pathan kings of India.

"About the middle of the thirteenth century A.D., the Arabs introduced the use of gun-powder, and Sultan Baibars, who overthrew the Tartars at Ain-Jalut, had a body of Arquebusiers in his army."[18] With this invention there was a sudden change in the military architecture of fortified places. In the vicinity of every fortified town, forts were built to further strengthen the defences. And where settlements did not already exist, new forts were built on strategic points to guard the routes of invasion. In Pakistan today, the forts of Attock, Pharwala, and Rohtas are admirable examples of such architecture. The forts of Lahore, Delhi, and Agra, are examples of forts built beside the already existing settlements. But these may be more appropriately called palace-fortresses as compared with the three forts mentioned above, which are built primarily from a tactical point of view.

Earlier we gave a classification in which the Muslim period was divided into four parts. The periods of Muhammad Bin Qasim and Mahmud of Ghazna were barren periods as far as military architecture goes, unless we take as correct the supposed

date of construction of the Pharwala fort namely 1009 A.D. We shall discuss this point in its proper place. In any case no significant development of military architecture seems to have taken place in this sub-continent during this period. The conquerors also did not take to this country to settle down. The first glimpse of such a development, therefore, we see during the second period of the Pathans, in the time of the Tughlaqs. Unlike the style of the Slaves and the Khiljis, which was marked by a quasi-Hinduism, we now find a distinct and new style in use. Thus in Adilabad, we see a double wall for the first time (1327 A.D.), which was in great contrast to the existing castles of Rai Pithaura.[19]

We will now take up the various styles of military architecture one by one, and give a resume of their characteristics, mentioning at the same time examples of existing structures. For greater details on the subject, the bibliography given at the end may be consulted with advantage.

Fortified Settlements

(*a*) HUND. This is the "U-to-kia-han-cha" of Hiuan Tsiang, and the "Waihind" of our early historians. It is also known by several other names. The present town lies almost opposite to Hazro in the Chhach Valley, on the right bank of the river Indus, and 16 miles from the place where the Kabul river meets the Indus near Attock. The town is now in ruins. The wall is pierced by four gates which have no arches, and face the four cardinal points of the compass. The wall is seen to be made of small kiln-baked bricks, but evidence is available of an earlier foundation deeper down, of small and large diaper masonry, which indicates that the original structure

was a pre-Muslim construction.[20] The gates are single. Double walls also do not exist. This place was the original winter capital of the Hindu-Shahiya dynasty at the time of the invasion of Mahmud of Ghazna, and has been the scene of many a battle.[21] It is one of the earliest examples of Hindu military architecture and gives an insight into the mode of construction of their military defences. Evidence is available of earlier, perhaps, pre-historic settlements outside the present enclosure. The walls have several bastions, which are situated 50 yards apart. We shall not be far wrong if we put forward the view that this fortification was re-built in the time of Mahmud of Ghazna, on its older foundations.

(*b*) SIRKAP. This is the largest of the settlements discovered at Taxila. The present excavated site is primarily a Scytho-Parthian city which was planned several times. There was wall encircling the town which was 21 feet high, interspersed with bastions. The town contains palaces, temples, and living quarters for the general population. It has a gate opening into the main street. It is situated at the foot of a hill. Originally the town was protected by an earthen wall, which was later replaced by a rubble masonry by the Saka kings (50 B.C.).[22] The bastions mentioned above are rectangular and are situated at irregular intervals. But at the corners the bastions assume a rounded shape and have become polygonal. At the present moment there is evidence of loop-holes in its walls.

We will not again discuss here any more of these fortified settlements, as in the previous pages we have mentioned the towns of Diji Wari Takri in Khairpur Mirs, and Moenjo Daro. We shall now pass on to the

second type of military architecture known as the Castle.

Castles

This word is synonymous with the Arabic word قصر (*Qasr*). Castles existed in this subcontinent and in Europe prior to the advent of Islam. The Romans and the Goth built castles in strategic places along their frontiers. In India Al-Beruni has given us the description of one called the Castle of Baitur,[23] situated above the confluence of the Kabul and Indus rivers. Castles can best be described as residential palaces of noblemen. In times of emergency, a small garrison was posted here to guard the route. Castles were also built by the Arabs. The names of Maraash and Harmieh are well known. These castles are sometimes known in history as Block-Houses.[24]

Another example in Pakistan could be given of the Castle of Nawab Said Khan near Peshawar which, "stands on a square terrace at the summit of a slope. It is octagonal in form and is covered with a dome".[25] The walls are 14 feet thick and are made of kiln-baked bricks. On the first floor of this building is a large hall through which a stair case leads to the top storey, where there is another large hall, also octagonal. Other apartments seem to have been destroyed. This octagonal room is surrounded by a small and narrow passage—a purely Mughal architectural feature—and was used as a defence post, as is evident from the numerous bullet marks in its walls.

In Britain, Wales presents a veritable museum of medieval castles. The most famous of them is the HORLECH Castle. It was one of the fortresses of Edward I, and was built about 1285 A.D. CAERPHILLY Castle may be considered as one of the most

elaborate medieval castles. It was started about the year 1271 A.D. Its outer wall is 340 yards. Some of the castles in Wales have polygonal towers. It appears that this type of a tower is the earliest type; at least before the circular type came into vogue the polygonal variety was being used. The famous example of a polygonal tower in Wales is that of the Castle of CAERNARVON which dates from 1285 A.D. This also was erected by Edward I. This castle, "is linked up in a single defence system with the town walls".[26]

Fortified Posts

These are different from the category described above, and are called Ribat or Watch Posts.[27] These structures were not only confined to Syria and Celicia, but were also constructed in this subcontinent by the Muslims. They may be considered as miniature forts. A typical example is that of Rewat, eleven miles from Rawalpindi, situated on the Grand Trunk Road on the left hand side as one proceeds from Lahore. It is located on a slightly elevated place and commands a good view of the surrounding country. Here lies now buried the Gakhar monarch Sultan Sarang Khan who died fighting nearby against Sher Shah Suri. We are not aware how this name has changed to assume its present form. The authorities would do well to give it its original name, which is Ribat (رباط)

Ribat is a small place fortified with high walls made of sand-stone and mortar. The walls are about thirty feet high, with a massive gate looking towards the road. The gate is single. It has a few residential quarters which look more like barracks than houses. In the western corner there is a mosque. The tomb of Sarang Khan now decorates the north-western corner, and is in a dilapidated state. It is a Gakhar monument

and was built in the time of Sultan Sarang Khan. There is no moat discernible, and no double gate, which further strengthen the presumption that it was never built as a fort, but simply as a watch-post. The walls are single all along the perimeter. It was perhaps meant for a small garrison. Such small posts are found scattered all over Pakistan and can be seen located along strategic places. Usually half a dozen were constructed between two major forts. These also served as relay posts for changing of horses for dispatch riders carrying mail to different parts of the country.

Forts

We now come to the last of the military structures which may be considered as the culminating point in the development of the military architecture in Pakistan and in the subcontinent. Our plan is to discuss a few only, taking some important examples to illustrate our point and the description that we propose to give is only a sketch of each, relevant to our discussion. Details are available in the books given in the bibliography.

Taking first the North Western Frontier, we will skip over the innumerable small fortresses built by the Sikhs and the British, such as Mackerson fort, Shahgai fort, Ali Masjid fort, Landikotal fort, and the Akora fort. All these forts were built after the style of the Muslims, and most of them lie on the Jamrud-Khyber Road. They are meant to guard the Khyber Pass. We will first discuss the fort near Peshawar.

I. BALA HISAR FORT—Just before one gets to Peshawar on his way from Rawalpindi, one notices a structure on an elevated place situated on the left-hand side of the G. T. Road. It is approximately one

furlong in dimension on either side. It is surrounded by a double thick wall made from kiln-baked bricks. The outer wall is half as high as the inner wall, hence both the walls are visible to the onlooker. A road runs between the two walls. The walls are interspersed with strong bastions. There is a double crooked gate to the North overlooking the road. There are barracks within the fort, but no sign of a residential building is evident, which shows that this fort was primarily meant to be a military defence and not a residential fort-palace. Its period of construction is disputed. We find no account of this fort prior to the time of Babar, who mentions it in his "Tuzk" in more than one place.[28] It is probable therefore, that it was built during his time, and may be the earliest example of Mughal military architecture. This can also be made out from the way it is built, although it does not show any of the refinement in fort construction which the later Mughals had attained in the time of Shah Jahan. Great battles have been fought here, and the fort has been destroyed and rebuilt several times in history, right upto the time of the Sikhs and the British.[29]

II. Attock Fort—It was built by Akbar the Great in the year 989 A.H. (1581 A.D.) according to the historian, Abdul Qadir Badaoni.[30] It is a proper military fort guarding the route across the Indus, into the plains of the Punjab. The wall is over a mile in circumference and is built in stone and mortar. "An interesting feature of the fortification is a narrow gallery constructed high up in the walls to give the defenders a head and back cover. The greater part of the gallery has a vaulted roof."[31] We have already discussed this detail above while giving a general description of the forts. "The battlements loopholes, machicoulis bear evidence of change to meet new

needs arising from changing armaments."[32] It has double crooked gates. There is an arsenal, a residential quarter for officers and royalty, and bath rooms. The Lohari Gate splits the fort into two portions. The gate which opens on the G. T. Road is the Mori Gate. Several new additions were made to this fort during the time of Emperor Jahangir and the British. This fort has great tactical value and its construction was necessitated by the incursions into Akbar's territory of Mirza Muhammad Hakim's forces who had been appointed the Governor of Kabul.

The existence of tunnels from the fort to the opposite bank from under the river stream, has not been established. It is possible that tunnels may have joined several buildings within the fort or in its vicinity. Personally, we are of the view that there was no actual tunnel going across the river from under its bed, as such a structure would have defeated the purpose of real defence; for, the tunnel would have led the escape into the enemy's camp, who was attacking from the opposite side!

III. PHARWALA FORT—This is also known by the name of Parhala in the *Tuzk-i-Baberi.* It is located in a difficult country along the north-eastern hills of Rawalpindi 18 miles from it, to the left side of the road which runs from Kahuta to Pattan in Azad Kashmir. It has been a Gakhar strong-hold ever since it was built by Sultan Kaigohar in the year 1000 A.D.[33] If this be true, it would then be the earliest fort built in this subcontinent by the Muslims. This is clearly the time of Mahmud of Ghazna's invasions. But it is not yet established whether the Gakhars accompanied Mahmud from Ghazni and fought with Anandpal on the side of Mahmud; or, embraced Islam after their defeat by Mahmud while fighting on the

side of Anandpal, as Farishta has maintained. In our opinion there is evidence that the Gakhars came to India as Muslims in company with Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna, and were not the inhabitants of this sub-continent. Farishta has evidently mistaken the Gakhars for Khokhars, or his interpreters have committed that grevious mistake while deciphering their name in his history, which simply says Khakhar (ککهر) It cannot be denied that there has been a metathesis.[34]

Let us turn back to the fort again. We were saying that to get to it is rather an ordeal. It is situated in difficult and broken country interspersed with nullahs and ravines. There are two roads to it, and unless one has a guide one is apt to miss it. The present fort has no buildings worth the name. There is a small village which is occupied by some Gakhar families who claim descent from the Gakhar chiefs. The fort itself is in ruins.

Reverting to Pharwala fort, we find that the fort is very extensive and its walls cover an area of two and a half miles. It has six gates and the walls are 30 feet high and approximately 20 feet thick. Slits for musketry are present all along the walls.[38] This is obviously a later addition; for, when the fort was built musketry was not in vogue, and there must have been slits for arrows. But if it be maintained that musketry slits were present from the day the fort was built, then it will have to be admitted that the fort was built at a much later date, and the date given above is wrong.

Natural cliffs serve as ditches which makes an approach to the fort extremely difficult. From its appearance it is not suggestive of having been a residential fort at all, but the extensiveness gives one the

idea that all this space could not have lain waste. Some remnants of old buildings are to be seen, especially that of the *Naqqar Khanah,* which has been pointed out as the place where Kamran was blinded. The present village is a recent one. Most of the houses are single-storied, and built from material gathered from the ruins of the fort itself. This fort has great strategic value, but no architectural significance. It is practically unassailable, but it lacks breast-work found in other forts in this subcontinent. It is also devoid of battlements. This fort was ransacked by the Sikhs in the year 1765 A.D.

IV. ROHTAS FORT—This fort is one of the rare and unique examples of military architecture in Pakistan. It commands a strategical position covering the highlands of the Jhelum district. It is situated four and a half miles from the grand trunk road to the South of village Dina, 11 miles from Jhelum, overlooking the Kahan nullah which forms a natural obstacle to its approach. It was built by Sher Shah Suri in the year 1542 A.D.[39] The fort extends over an area of two and a half miles in length, and about one eighth of a mile in width. Its walls are 30 feet thick and are built of stone and mortar. They are 30 to 40 feet in height. There are 68 towers interspersed between 12 gateways. The Sohail gate is now converted into a Rest House. There is a mosque inside the fort but the residential quarters appear to have been destroyed. This fort was the scene of some bloody battles between the Gakhars and Sher Shah. At the time this fort was built it lay along the original Grand Trunk Road which has now shifted a few miles to the north-west. The walls are pierced with musketry slits. The parapets near the gateway have machicolations from which molten lead could be poured down on the

enemy.[40] This fort has great strategical value as it commands the approaches into the plains of the Punjab along the Salt Range.

V. LAHORE FORT—The river Ravi formed a natural obstruction to the fort's approach, as it flowed by its side at the time Akbar the Great built it in the year 1617 A.D. There was an old citadel here which is on record. This citadel was built in the time of Muhammad of Ghor, but there are no remains of it at present. The fort was built in three stages, by the three Mughal emperors, Akbar, Jahangir, and Shah Jahan. Even in later times there have been additions and alterations in the time of Aurangzeb and the Sikhs. This fort is essentially a palace-fortress, and is located in the north-western corner of the city of Lahore. The original gateway is to the west and is double. The decorations along the inner walls and the various residential palaces with its darbar halls clearly indicate that the fort was not meant to be a defensive structure, except in an emergency. At the time of its construction the Mughal empire had become well established, and the forts of Attock, Pharwala and Rohtas were sufficient to ward off an intruder and prevent his coming to Lahore; hence the residential fort was not considered a weakness from the point of view of defence. Lahore also being the capital and the centre of culture, a palace-fortress seemed essential in this town. The walls, in spite of its residential look, have loopholes for musketry. Its main gateway is double and crooked. The fort was enlarged and beautified in the time of Jahangir, under the supervision of Asaf Khan, the emperor's brother-in-law. A discussion of the architecture of its residential quarters is outside the scope of our paper; hence we shall not dwell upon it. This fort has another gate which is not

quite in keeping with the general architecture: it is a lime-plastered gate which also looks to the West and faces the Shahi mosque. This gate was built by Aurangzeb to go to the mosque at the time of prayers. The fort is quite regular in shape and forms a parallelogram, each side of which measures 1200 feet and 1050 feet respectively.[42]

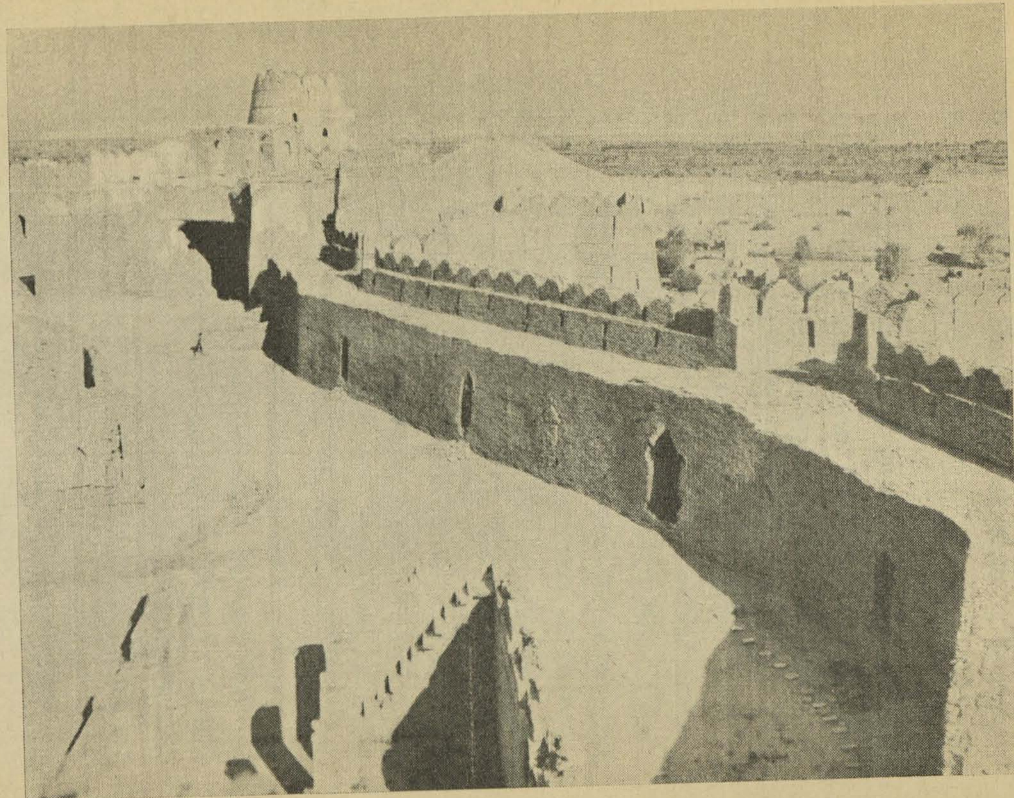
VI. THE FORTS OF HYDERABAD SIND AND KHAIRPUR MIRS—These two forts are contemporary structures built about two hundred years ago. They are no doubt imposing structures, but are not strong enough to stand heavy artillery, as compared with the forts we have already described.

The fort of Hyderabad Sind occupies the site of an older fortified town called NIRUN, which the authors of "Chhach Nama" and "Tarikh-i-Gardezi" have described as "Hisar-i-Nirun". This was conquered by Muhammad Bin Qasim in 711 A.D. The present form of the fort is a more recent one. It was built by the Kalhora chief Mian Ghulam Shah in the year 1183 A.H. (1769 A.D.), which is about two hundred years from today. A little later Mir Fateh Ali Khan Talpur made additions to it and occupied it as his residence. He also built a mosque within it. The oldest building which now stands within it is the tomb of its builder, who died in 1772 A.D. The British made a great many alterations in this fort during the 1857 War, when they occupied it for a considerable period. Their main ordnance depot for the western sub-continent was located within it.

There was a promenade round the ramparts. The forts had barracks, stables, darbar halls, mosques, and guard rooms. Both the forts are built in small kiln-baked bricks, with bastions interspersed in the walls. The Sind fort has in addition a tower located in its

centre which is said to have been a watch tower. The walls have a palisade arrangement with slits for musketry. "The defences appear as if a few rounds of grapes would level them with the plain: an appearance the reverse of deceitful, the boasted stronghold of the boastful Talpurs being one of the weakest strong-looking fortresses in our corner of Asia."[46]

This description by Burton is not in the least exaggerated. Anyone who has seen all the forts described above, would come to the same conclusion when he sees these forts in Hyderabad Sind and Khairpur Mirs. In spite of their massiveness, the appearance of softness, as if they would crumble down at the first cannon shot fired at them. The Khairpur fort was originally built by Mir Suhrab Khan in the year 1786 A.D., which is almost identical with the period of construction of the Sind fort. It is situated 15 miles from Khairpur Mirs, in a place originally called Ahmadabad, but now known at Kot Diji. This fort is of a circular appearance, and its wall doubles up along the side of Diji Wari -Takri. In the foreground in this picture appear rounded structures at the foot of the fort. These are the granaries, and are located between the fortified town and the fort. Where the wall of the fort terminates near the town, a huge gun is placed which if not heavier, is in no manner less than the Zamzama gun at Lahore. This gun has two inscriptions on it; one being in the Portuguese and the other in Persian. It has engraved on it some regimental insignia, which may have belonged to the Portuguese army. The gun was captured from the Portuguese by the armies of Shah Abbas Safvi, as the Persian inscription reveals. When and how this gun was brought into this fort is not known. It is, however, probable, that the gun may have been cap-



Khairpur

Fort DIGI
By courtesy of Mr. A. B. Rajput

tured in Sind during the sack of Tatta by the Portuguese in 1555 A.D.[45] There are remnants of other smaller guns seen lying about the fort, but this is by far the heaviest.

VII. DARAWAR FORT—The correct name of this fort is the Deorawul fort, and is named after the original builder, the Bhatti Rajput monarch Deo Raj, who initially ordered its construction in 843 A.D. The words WAR and WUL are synonymous. The history of this Rajput dynasty starts with Tunno the grandfather of Deo Raj, who was the son of Biji Rai. Tunno had five sons, but Biji Rai is of importance from our point of view. Tunno erected the fortress of Bijnote in 757 A.D. According to the District Gazette of Bahawalpur (p. 392), this fort was erected by Raja Winjha or Biji Bhatia (Syed Muhammad Shah), and it was demolished by Shahabuddin Ghori in 574 A.H. Colonel TODD in his 'Rajisthan', however, asserts that it was founded by TUNNO, the father of Biji Rai and grandfather of DEORAJ, the founder of DARAWAR. His grandson built an equally strong fort at Deogarh (which was named after him) called Deorawul. We shall not go into the details or history of this period, but describe briefly some points of interest in the fort.

The present form of the fort again is not its original one. It was no doubt originally also a real strong-hold, but again this was merely a fortified town situated on high ground. Even in the days when it was built, it had 56 bastions. But we have no description of them whether they were circular or rectangular. The fort had a gate and was surrounded by a lake. The lake was built by Deo Raj himself. He actually built two lakes in this area of Khadal. The

second lake is at Tunnote. These lakes were respectively named by him as Tunno-Sirr and Deo-Sirr.

The Bhatti Rajputs were eventually put an end to by the forces of Alauddin Ghori. From then onward the fort has remained in the hands of the Muslims who totally altered its shape to give it the present look.

It will not be out of place to mention another example of a fort built by the Rajputs after the Mughal style. This is the fort of DIG in Bharatpur district of Rajasthan, about 23 miles from Mathura. This was built between 1750-1770 A.D., by the Jat Princes Suraj Mal and Jawahar Singh. It is entirely built in the Mughal style, and is one of the most massive fortified structures in this subcontinent.

In giving a detailed account of the development of military architure in Pakistan, it has not been possible for us to discuss the other forts of the Indo-Pak subcontinent. We can say, however, that although, the climatic conditions in Central India differ from those in the North, yet the principle of construction has remained the same. We have also skipped over the forts in East Pakistan; the same arguments could apply to the forts situated there, and no special features merit a separate account. With these final remarks we now wind up this paper, hoping that a new field is now open for further research on this subject, hitherto untouched by historians and archaeologists alike.

COMBINED OPERATIONS AT HUND BY MAHMUD OF GHAZNA

Note.—The letters *MG* wherever they occur stand for Mahmud of Ghazna.

WHILE writing about the campaigns of MG, the first thing that one encounters in the books of reference, is the great confusion in the proper sequence of his expeditions, and the varied interpretations given to place names. There is so much divergence in the accounts of the early writers of history and those of today, and between each of them, that it is almost impracticable to get a clear picture of what actually happened in those invasions. The whole thing is a disorderly affair, and no one has attempted to put these accounts in order. I have personally visited all the scenes of his early expeditions, and I can safely say, that none of the historians had any geographical knowledge of the areas involved, nor had they any idea of the topography of the country on which these scenes were enacted.

Just imagine MG coming to the throne in the year 999 A.D., and till his death in 1030 A.D.; which just about gives him thirty years, he invades India no less than sixteen times! It may not be an impossible feat, but I ask you to consider that out of this short span

of thirty years he spends almost eleven years in Balakh, Raiy, Isphahan etc., to settle domestic affairs, thus being left with nineteen years only to make sixteen expeditions into India: Is this feasible? Especially when we find that over his first expedition to Hund, which after Peshawar is the nearest place to his home in India, he spends eight months in reducing the territory, having entered the place in September 1001 A.D. and returning in April 1002 A.D. and, it must not be lost sight of that he had to cross no big rivers. How can we possibly believe that the manoeuvres carried out in the outlying areas such as Somnath, Kangra and Thanesar, where he had to cross many an obstacle in the shape of rivers, deserts, adverse climates, he marched like a flash completing his round of sixteen invasions. It sounds very dramatic, but I am afraid is not the whole truth from the point of view of military strategy. This question has naturally struck me, as I was looking for a proper sequence in the order of his battles which he fought on the Indian soil. My impression is, that one expedition which involved the subduing of three or four places has been recorded as separate invasions, and not as one. The other confusion which has come to my notice is the wrong identification of places, which has made the confusion worse confounded; in that, the historians have made MG jump from place to place haphazardly without regard to the location of the places: and just because they were unable to do it, they had no other alternative but to multiply his campaigns to fit them into places of their choice, and which lay apart not only at great distances, but also in different directions, which makes the whole show look ridiculous.

His Operations

There are three distinct operations at Hund, which are attributed to MG. The first of the series is the one, when MG defeated Jaipal, near Peshawar, in November 1001 A.D., and pushed on to Hund, the second is the battle on the Indus against Anandpal, when he refused to allow him passage to Multan; this was in April 1006 A.D. And the third expedition is said to have taken place in December 1008 A.D., when MG crossed the Indus at Hund on his way to Bhimnagar, which has been identified as Nagarkot and Kangra. To this list I must add a fourth one which took place in October 1004 A.D. prior to the conquest of Bhatiya, when MG again crossed the Indus at Hund, and had to face a ferocious force of Gakhars on the opposite side. He crossed at no other place but Hund to get to Bhatiya, as is evident from the account of Utbi—"Hatta ibr Sihun min wara al Multan"—clearly shows that he did not cross in the neighbourhood of Multan as is usually maintained but away from it, which here means upstream. I shall come to deal with this question later on in the identification of place names. In my opinion there are not four expeditions, but only two; the first one forming an expedition by itself, while the other three comprise the second expedition. The second expedition includes the subjugation of Bhatiya, and Nagarkot. And instead of placing the three expeditions separately in the years 1004, 1006 and 1008 A.D. respectively, I have preferred to label them as one expedition which took place in the year 1006 A.D. After this short introduction, I will proceed to describe as the Battle of Hund, the above enumerated three expeditions and take it as one.

Historical Appreciation

For a student of military history, it is most annoying to see that the essential details required by him, to compile the story of his operations, is totally lacking, in early contemporary histories. The historians of early days seem more of Pangyrist, praising the valour of their masters rather than recording the actual manoeuvres and tactics of their masters. This deplorable negligence and serious omission, makes it very difficult to collect and collate various aspects of the strategy of famous generals. And in the case of MG whose campaigns spread over such large areas in so short a time, it is still more difficult to ascertain details regarding the movement of his troops. One often wonders how in the absence of modern methods of survey and reconnaissance, and the modern means of locomotion, was MG able to conquer such large areas, repeatedly subduing and returning to his home in Ghazni. Surely, he must have had superb methods of disposition of his troops, and his appreciations very intelligently anticipated. His principles of War must have been all inclusive, just as today. His departments of information and intelligence must also have been very efficient; the supply and replenishment of troops and material also seem to have been organised extremely well. But unfortunately, no such account has come down to us which can help in the compilation of his tactics and strategy.

I have endeavoured to collect and put together some details from various sources, which will help you to understand to some extent the tactics employed by MG during his operations at Hund against Anandpal, the second monarch of the Hindushahiya dynasty. I will merely confine myself to his attack on Hund with a description as to how he crossed his army

over the Indus to get on to the plain of Hazro. But before I do that, I think it is necessary to tell you the organisation of his force under command, and the weapons used by them.

His Army

MG's army was the result of a natural evolution of the early Islamic army, which had developed under the influence and contact with foreign forces, with which early Islam had to deal with. Generally speaking there were two main influences; the Greek and the Persian. By the time MG's army had come to hold its own, the Muslims had acquired a distinct art of war. The art of entrenching had come to them very early, as is evident from the famous Ghuzwah Khandaq, in the lifetime of the Holy Prophet's (OWBP) whose body guard had taken the shape of the Royal Body Guard, which was now a permanent feature on the establishment. There were the mercenaries, the tribal people recruited from territories newly conquered; there were the slaves and lastly the regulars, a good force of which was always maintained in various parts of the dominions, who kept ready for any eventuality. All kinds of tradesmen were provided for in the rank and file of the army. There were carpenters to make boats, and to mend bows, there were the tailors and armourers, iron smiths and cobblers. Even the physicians were not omitted, and field hospitals carried on camels worked efficiently. Adequate arrangements existed for the carriage and transportation of provisions and baggage and other essential equipment. This was probably the forerunner of the Quarter-master General's Branch of today. In the time of MG, prior to this expedition, elephants were few and captured, but thoroughbred horses were looked

after well. Chariots and carts were used for the harem only, or to carry the sick and wounded.

The equivalent ranks in the army of those days cannot be definitely decided, but from the information gathered from various sources, a gradation in the rank and file is perceptible. Promotions were entirely based on merit. The formations were not arranged in the field as they are today, partly on account of the lack of specialisation in the various. arms, and partly due to the deficiency in the variety of the armour. The two main forms were the cavalry and the infantry, the cavalry being mounted both on the horses and the camels, and in the later days on elephants as well. Their battle orders, therefore, were totally different from today. The arrangement in the field of the troops did not considerably differ from that of the days of the Caliphs, the following being the main divisions: (1) the vanguard, (2) the right flank, (3) the left flank, (4) the rear flank or the rear guard, and (5) the Central flank. Squadrons like the scouts and the guides also existed, whose function was to reconnoitre the route and the area of operation. They even supplied information regarding the strength of the enemy's troops. The central flank was always commanded by the king who was the Commander-in-Chief. He was surrounded by the body guard, the physicians, the ulema, poets and a few astrologers to forecast the auspicious moment for an attack. A band comprising of drums and trumpets was also not lacking. The rear guard formed what may be likened to the 2nd Echelon of today, or a base, where all the reserves were kept. In addition to the reserves, the harem and the kitchen also stayed behind in the rear guard. The wounded were also brought and kept here for treat-

ment. The distance between the rear and the central flanks was never very great, as a long line of communication could not be afforded. Conferences amongst officers was not an unknown feature during the operations, and operational orders were issued which were mostly verbal and not written. Road making was planned ahead. Al-Bernni says that the roads MG had to cross prior to his advent into India had been constructed by his father to help him to invade India! The main weapons were long bows, crossbows, arrows, shields, spears, swords and naptha ball from catapult like devices or thrown from arrows. In the words of Yeats Brown, "They came in troop by troop . . . travelling light on their ponies . . . with their shields on their back, and their spears under their left knee. They carried long bows for dismounted attack, with a range of 200 yards or more, and crossbows for use in saddles."

With this background of military organisation in the army of MG, I will now follow his footsteps across the plain of Peshawar in his chase of Anandpal; who after having suffered a crushing defeat took refuge for some time in the fort at Hund, and sent his army partially across the Indus to combat any eventuality in case of a defeat. Mahmud Ghazni had marched to Peshawar with a force of some 20,000 strong comprising mainly of cavalry. He had only a few elephants which were captured at Peshawar. He employed Hindus as their drivers, and some have even maintained that he had Hindus also fighting on his side, but detailed figures are not available anywhere.

After being pushed from Peshawar, Anandpal did not offer much resistance to the forces of MG; perhaps with the intention of encircling him across

the river if MG managed to cross the Indus, for he had the Gakhars to fight for him in the plains of Hazro, or more appropriately, the plain of Chhach, which extends from Hazro to Attock on the NW side, and from Hazro to Terbela on the eastern side. But the main battle took place in the near surroundings of Hazro, where a strong force of Gakhars numbering 30,000 had collected to fight on the side of Anandpal, and who almost turned the tables in his favour. To cross the vast stream of water here and then to offer a battle is not an easy task at all, but as will be seen from the forthcoming description MG did it admirably.

At Hund

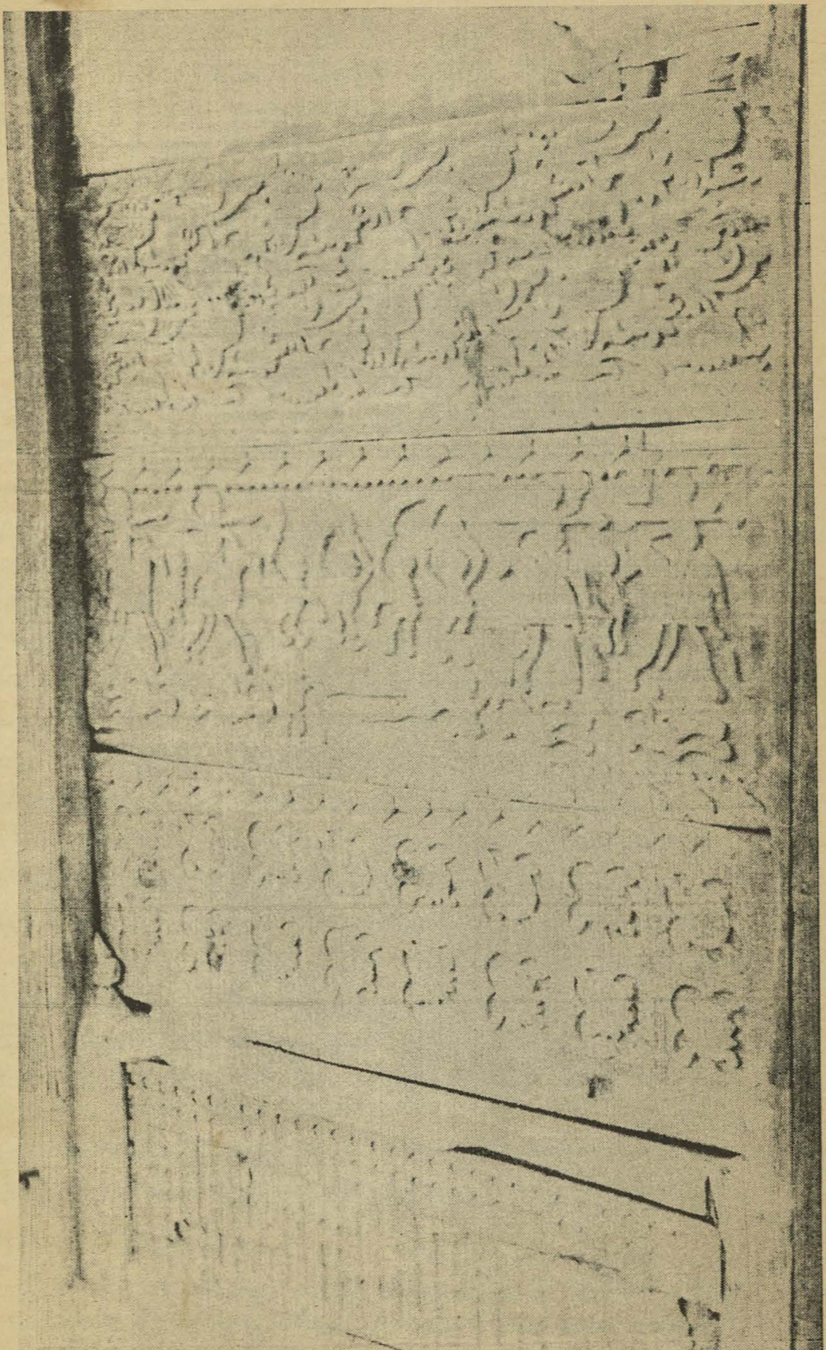
It was the month of December in the year 1006 A.D. when MG chased Anandpal to Hund. It is the time of the year when the river Indus is at its lowest ebb, and the river bed becomes riddled with small islands of varying sizes, which serve as convenient stepping stones. It is easier to cross the river at this time of the year and in this place, than at any other time and in any other place. The main body of the cavalry can easily cross on horseback, while the infantry swims across in support of the cavalry, as seems to have happened in this case. Elephants were not needed to be transported across, as they would be captured during the combat; but whatever of them were left behind would cross with heavier equipment after the enemy was defeated. Beside this point, MG also must have crossed at another point on the Indus in the vicinity of this locality. It seems necessary that he must have done so; firstly because, to attack a veritable force immediately on crossing is not good tactics, and secondly, to engage the enemy on one

flank by a surprise attack would divert the attention of the enemy forces, which must have been waiting for him to come from the opposite side. I have surveyed this area in its entirety, and am convinced that from Hund MG must have also sent a large part of his force along the northern bank of the Indus to cross at Darband near Tarbela, where the river enters the plains for the first time; and this place is hardly thirty miles from Hazro, the actual scene of action. I have calculated that for a quick surprise action, the total journey can be covered in twelve hours from Hund. MG's forces therefore also engaged the enemy on its right flank thus throwing an impact right in the heart of the total force which stood facing Hund at Hazro. We are told that 20,000 people were killed in this battle alone. The area today is riddled with grave yards, which reminds one of the great battle fought here. By this surprise attack on the right flank MG was able to save an ugly situation. The surprise attack was supplemented with a direct attack launched by the crossing forces. No boats were used, and the army crossed on horseback and by swimming. I am not in favour of the view put forward by certain historians that MG crossed over at Attock. Any General would bypass that enormous rapidly flowing stream of water, which is completely exposed, and why should he waste time to cross over the river Kabul again to get to Attock after having arrived at Hund? There seems no sense in this at all. It is also to be borne in mind that this would involve a much greater distance to get to Hazro, and crossing the two rivers would act as a great obstacle, and defeat the element of surprise. It will be remembered that MG had crossed the river Kabul near Jalalabad, and had encamped near Pesha-

war during the initial advance, MG did not cross the river Kabul near Peshawar, but was encamping opposite Peshawar across the river. Anandpal's forces were advancing from Lahore which was his summer capital, and this lay to the South, in the Swabi Tehsil of the Mardan district of the N.W.F.P. This is the Al-Lahawar of Al-Beruni, which is the real Lahore of ancient historians. It is not the Lahore of the Punjab, as most of the early and contemporary historians have thought. This mislocation of Al-Lahawar has also caused some confusion. Dr. Nazim has pointed this fact in a letter to Dr. Baqir, which he has published as an appendix to his book, Lahore Past and Present. In the expeditions of MG in which we come across this name, we know for certain that MG did not cross the river Chinab, and could not therefore have got to the capital of the Punjab. It was obviously the Lahore of the Swabi Tehsil, which exists till today. MG therefore had encamped opposite Peshawar across the river Kabul, and fought the advancing forces of Anandpal whom he defeated and persued to Hund, which was the winter capital of the Hindushahiya dynasty, and from here we find ourselves in the midst of the present battle of Hund, which I am describing.

Battle Scene in Carving

In an old house inside the fort at Hund, and near the river gate, there are two beautiful wooden carvings in an excellent state of preservation, which in my opinion date from the time of this expedition of MG. They depict a scene of combined operations of MG at Hund. One of the carvings shows two soldiers advancing on horseback, with spears in their hands. They are met by four soldiers from the opposite side, who are on foot and have swords in their hands, which



Carved Battle Scene at Hund.

they are waving in the air. These are in turn followed by two other soldiers on horseback carrying spears. At the bottom of this carving a few soldiers are seen swimming across the river. It must be the river Indus for the carvings have been executed at Hund. In the second carving is a supplecating scene, showing a man holding a large snake in his hand on top of which is placed another smaller snake. There is a horse and a monkey, and the horse is seen shaking hands with the monkey. The monkey and the snake depict Hindu gods, while the man and the horse signify essential elements of war; and the two appear to be offering some sort of a prayer, most probably beseeching for a victory. This carving definitely shows Hindu sentiments, and can depict no other scene but the one I am dealing with. We know of no other war in this part of the world in history, except for the ones fought by Alexander, and woodwork of this kind could not be preserved for over two thousand years. On the other hand, Sir Aural Stein has discovered carved wooden pillars in this area and in Swat, dating back to the XIV century A.D. which he thinks show Greeko-Buddhist influence. These are well preserved but are later than the time of the present expedition of MG. It is therefore possible that woodcarving was being done in this area since a long time and these carvings under discussion were also executed by the locals after the battle of Hund. In short this scene depicts the end of the Hindushahiya dynasty. It commemorates the Ghaznivide victory and the Hindu defeat. It is the scene of MG combined operation at Hund.

Historical Metathesis

I will now come to the discussion of a few place names and show you what confusion has been brought

by our early historians. This subject, although outside the scope of my present paper, is nevertheless inextricably bound up with the present campaign I have been discussing. I will, therefore, give you briefly what I have seen, and what I think about these places. I have already in the passing given you my idea about the location of Al-Lahawar. I will discuss now two more places, known to us as, Bhatiya and Bhimnagar.

It will be recalled, that this invasion of MG took place with the intention of going to Multan, when Anandpal resisted his passage which lead to his downfall. MG also wanted to go to Bhatiya and Bhimnagar, which have been identified with Bhatinda and Nagarkot or Kangra respectively. But in this expedition it is also clear that MG did not go beyond the river Chinab. The places Bhatiya and Nagarkot must therefore lie between the river Chinab and the place of crossing the Indus river, which is Hazro. I have identified this place Bhatiya, with Hatiyan near Hazro, and Nagarkot, with Langarkot which are today situated near Hasan Abdal and Tarbela respectively. I will first discuss Bhatiya.

Early and contemporary historians while discussing this place refer to Utbi's *Tarkh-i-Yamini*, in which this name appears for the first time, the later historians merely copying his statements. Elliot has rightly commented that, "though holding an important appointment near the person of Mahmud, he does not seem to have accompanied him in his expeditions, for he evidently had no knowledge of the topography of India, and his statements in respect of localities are of little authority." After having seen the sites, I could not agree more with the learned scholar. In my copy of the *Tarikh-i-Yamini*, published by the Matbai Muhammadi of Lahore in the year 1882, there is a

mark of a footnote on the word Bhatiya, which say in the margin, "Hatiya balad min balad ul Hind". This clearly shows that the correct name is Hatiya and not Bhatiya. For the first time this word appears on page 208 of my copy and subsequent mentions are not annotated. This malapropism has emerged due to careless calligraphy, either on the part of the author in his original manuscript, or by the subsequent copyists who copied from the original manuscript; and ever since then the mistake has been repeated without any effort at correction. What has happened is this: the B (ب) of Ba (با) has been joined into the H (ه) of Hatiya, thus making it look like Bhatiya! The author or the copyist was in the habit of joining words for the sake of abbreviating the script, which was repeatedly copied without any regard to the real significance of the proper noun. I have noticed this mal-adjustment in several other places in the Tarikh-i-Yamini. To mention another one: The B (ب) of Ba(با) has been joined to the mim (م) of "Ma wara un nahr", thus making it look like "Bama wara un Nahr!"

Let us now search for any familiar description in Hatiyan, as described in *Tarikh-i-Yamini*. I have already explained that in order to get to Hatiyan, MG crossed the Indus at Hund, "Hatta ibr Sihun min wara al Multan," signifies that the crossing was made away from Multan, and not in its neighbourhood. And away here means upstream which would be at Hund, for the Sultan was accustomed to cross it here. After crossing Hund MG came to Hazro, and about six miles from the place of crossing lies the modern hamlet of Hatiyan, situated across the grand trunk road, about a couple of furlongs from where the present road from Hazro joins the grand trunk road. Signs of a drying

lake are visible in the vicinity of this place, and the place is still marshy. It was at this place that Babar used to shoot the rhinoceros. Traces of a moat can also be made out. The Hatiyan dak bungalow is situated upon a prominent mound which is built over an older structure, and which may have been a fort. There is also an old serai nearby which may have been a stage post of old. The description fits in well, at least better than it fits into Bhatinda. Further the metathesis of the name Hatiya into the word Hatiyan is much more simpler than into the word Bhatinda, which at once looks far-fetched. Now, after the defeat of the Raja of Hatiyan, known as Beeji Rai, he disappeared to take refuge in the fort of Bhimnagar or Nagarkot which is identified as Kangra. It will be appreciated that MG has not yet been to Nandana, nor has he been to Lahore of the Punjab; but the historians have straightaway pushed him to Kangra, which he would only reach after crossing all the rivers of the Punjab. It is not feasible to make such presumptions. Let us look for Nagarkot somewhere near Hatiyan and save MG the trouble of going all the distance to Kangra, which he may have done at a much later stage of his expeditions, but surely not at this stage. If we presume for a while that Hatiya is Hatiyan, then the whole story becomes crystal clear, and no confusion remains whatsoever. There are two forts in the vicinity of Hatiyan, which are today respectively known as Nagarkot and Langarkot, and both have remains of ancient forts which can be seen even today. The old name of Langarkot as mentioned by the District Gazetteer of Attock is Shrikot, and is today called as Baoti Pind. It is situated on the right bank of the Baoti nullah at the West end of a rocky hill which stretches as far as the Haro river. "This is a few miles North of

Wah RS. In the gorge between the Baoti ridge and the Hasan Abdal ridge, there is a small ridge forming the three sides of a square which is usually called Langarkot." Remains of the wall of the fort along with some towers can still be seen today along the crest of the ridge. The second fort which is called the Nagarkot is located at the termination of the Gandgarh mountains towards Tarbela, on the Indus river, the fort being situated on a high hill and away from it. There are the Nagar fountains here which were visited by Heuan Tsiang. I am of the opinion that when a part of MG's forces crossed over at Darband for the surprise attack at Hazro, they must have bypassed this on their left, and perhaps did not notice it, as it is hidden away in the hills. They may also have crossed this place at dawn or dusk, and thus missed to see it. But even if they had seen it, they had no time for diversions, as the immediate object was to attack by surprise the forces that were lying concentrated in the plain of Hazro.

Instead of imagining therefore that MG made for Kangra from Bhatinda, as identified for Hatiya and Nagarkot; if we were to adjust our maps according to my description, we will see that the whole expedition not only took place in the Chchach valley but also was a single expedition and not three different invasions. The confusion will become less confounded. Therefore after defeating the Gakhars, MG passed from the plain of Hazro into the vicinity of Hatiyan and crushed the Raja of this place, and chased him to Nagarkot where he had taken refuge. Both the places are situated at a distance of approximately thirty miles from Hatiyan. The expedition to Kangra can be adjusted at a later date, but not at the time of this excursion.

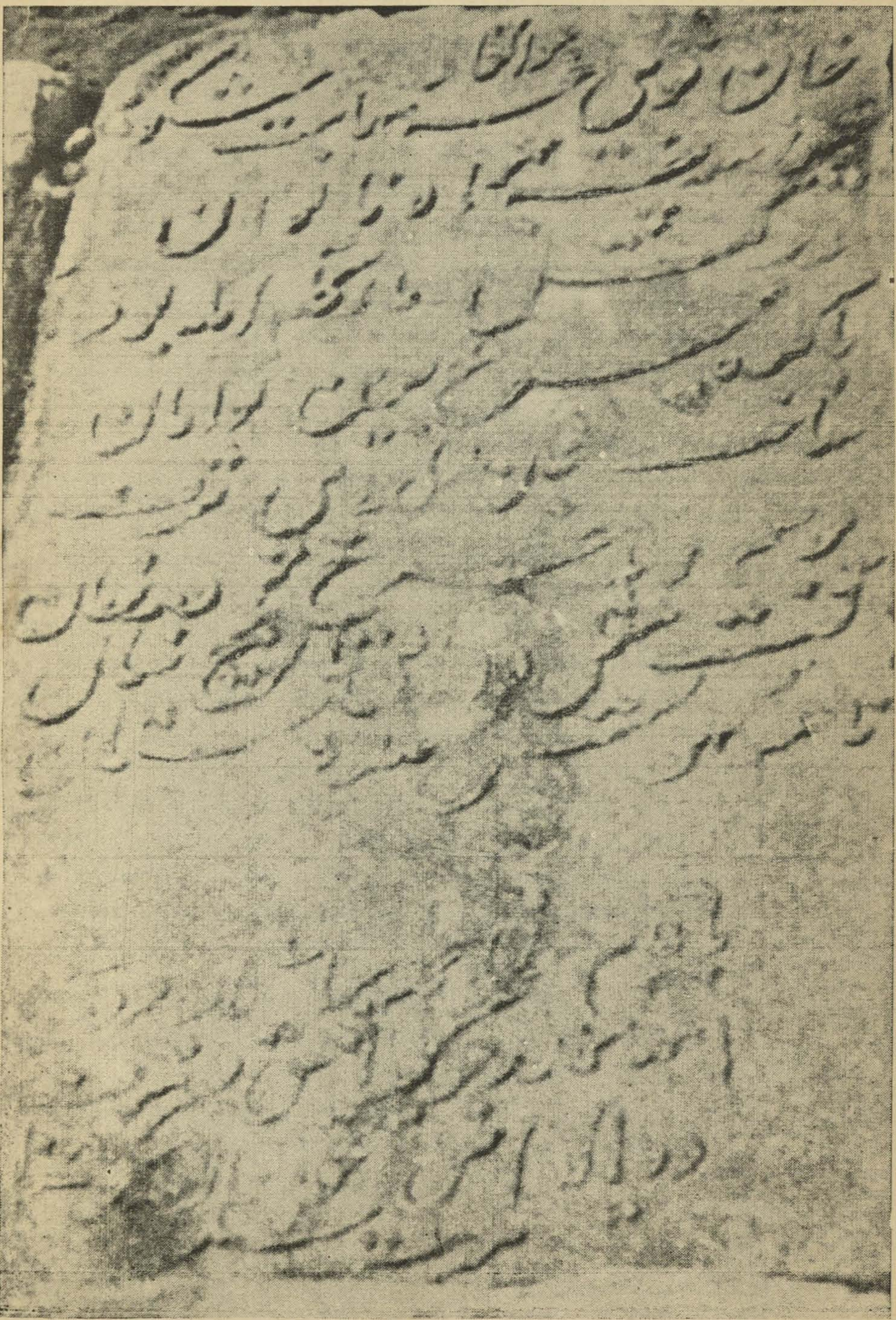
THE MARGALLA INSCRIPTION

A PORTION of the original Grand Trunk Road of Sher Shah Suri still survives, and can be seen curving round behind the Nicholson's monument in the Margalla Pass.[1] It passes to the south-west of it. This portion of the road is marked with two conical pillars of about four feet height. Onwards from these pillars the road is paved with large-sized stones. This portion of the road runs in a curve, and at its height and on the right side of it, is fixed a Persian inscription in a rock situated about fifteen feet from the road level. This inscription is on a flint stone slab, which is fixed in the rock. It commemorates the renovation of this road in the year 1083 (?) A.H., (1672 A.D.). The inscription is not engraved but embossed.

Three attempts have been made to decipher this inscription by various scholars; the earliest of them was by Blochmann who attempted a decipherment in the year 1871 A.D. This was followed by Rehatesk in 1874 A.D. The last person to attempt it was Yazdani in 1933. The results of their research are published in the "J.A.S.B., Vol. XL, Part I, Page 259". "Indian Antiquities, Vol. III, Page 205" and "Bibliographica

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1 Margalla Pass is situated about sixteen miles from Rawalpindi along the Grand Trunk Road, as one proceeds towards Peshawar.



Magalla Inscription.

Indo-Muslimca 1933/34, Page 21"; respectively. The renderings of these scholars are based on paper impressions of the inscription, which are indeed admirable.

In the year 1954, in the month of October, I photographed this inscription, and after seeing the enlargement I found certain variants in the deciphered script, which I propose to discuss in this brief paper. This photograph can be taken as the first picture of this inscription ever taken, and the results obtained decidedly show more clearly the script which normally in an impression would not stand out. But, and in spite of the fact, that I have been able to improve upon the previous renderings, I have to admit that my results are by no means conclusive. After a comparison of the various versions with my rendering, I have arrived at certain results which I will put down briefly for the benefit of scholars who may be able to improve upon it further, and present a more complete version of the inscription thus completing a task which was started in the latter part of last century. I reproduce below the previous three versions of the scholars above mentioned and in the end give my own rendering. This will help the scholars to compare them at a glance, and assess their comparative values and see the important differences for themselves. Here are the versions:

BLOCHMANN (1871)

مار گلہ

خان قوی پنجۂ مہابت شکوہ

شیر ز سر پنجۂ او ناتوان

گفت مغل رومی تاریخ شان

نـامـیـم مـہـوش ہـنـدوسـتـان

باہتمام میرزا احمد داروغہ احمد معمار و استاد جوگیداس و دیبی داس تحویلدار سن ۱۰۸۳ ہجری -

REHATESK (1874)

ھوالقادر

خان قوی پنجۂ مہابت شکوہ
شیر ز سر پنجۂ او ناتوان
در کتل مار گلہ آنکہ بود
باکرہ چرخ بریں تو امان
ساخت چناں را روئے شرف
یومیہ دید چرخ ز در زماں
گفت مثل از پی تاریخ سال
ناصیہ مہوش ہندوستان

بایام مرزا محمد داود داستان -
حمد معمار و جوگیداس و شرف و دیالداس تحویلدار سن ۱۰۸۱ھ مرمت شد -

YAZDANI (1933)

ھوالقادر

خان قوی پنجۂ مہابت شکوہ
شیر ز سر پنجۂ او ناتوان
در کتل مار گلہ آنکہ بود
باکرہ چرخ بریں تو امان
ساخت چنان شاہراہی شرف
------ چرخ ------ بو زمان
گفت مغل در پی تاریخ سال
ناصیہ مہوش ہندوستان

باہتمام مرزا محمد -------- داروغہ ------
احمد معمار و جوگیداس -------- شرف و دیالداس تحویلدار سن ۱۰۸۳ھ مرتب شد -

As one compares these versions, a number of points which are common to each, strike the eye. These may be grouped as under:

(1) From the first verse it is apparent that

Mahabat Khan was in charge of these repairs, and was deputed to carry out the task.

(2) The second verse indicates that this task was undertaken in the Margalla Pass.

(3) The third verse indicates that the task was completed satisfactorily.

(4) The last verse gives the chronogram of the date when the task was completed in the year 1083 A.H.; and

(5) Ahmad Maamar, the celebrated engineer, worked under the supervision of Mirza Muhammad Darogha. Jogi Das and Dyal Das may have been contractors, as would appear from the word Tahvildar (تحویلدار) in the closing lines of the inscription. A Tahvildar is actually a financer. In olden days these Tahvildars were deputed to undertake jobs and finance them, and thereafter claim the expenditure from the Imperial Treasury by submitting their bills.

The whole episode coincides with the arrival of Emperor Aurangzeb in Hassan Abdal. But we find from *Maathir-i-Alamgiri* that Aurangzeb reached Hassan Abdal on the 2nd of Rabi-ul-Awwal in the year 1084 A.H. He had then come to deal with the onslaught of Afghans who had defeated Shujaat Khan at Khaiber, and were pursuing him downwards into the plains of the Punjab. We also find Mahabat Khan joining the Emperor on the 27th of Rajab of the same year. In the Emperor's camp also appear in the same year and almost simultaneously, Tehl Das, Darogha Sheikh Abdul Aziz and Lutf Ullah.

In the light of the above details from *Maathir-i-Alamgiri* certain questions naturally arise in the mind, which may be summed up as follows:

(a) The date in the chronogram which has been deciphered as 1083 A.H. by previous scholars seems to be incorrect. There are two reasons for this:

(i) In the chronogram the word Mahwash مهوش is not properly discernible. The inscribed word is incomplete and is not visible as a whole.

(ii) In the details of completion under the chronogram the date mentioned is also not complete, but simply appears as 108. It is therefore not certain whether it was 1083 or 1084 A.H. The last line in the chronogram has been deciphered in such a way that the total figures according to the Abjad system come to 1083; and

(b) The date in the chronogram as deciphered by previous scholars does not coincide with the arrival of these personages mentioned in the inscription along with the Emperor's camp.

I am of the opinion that the exact date is not 1083, but 1084 A.H., and the last line of the chronogram instead of being read as نـــاصیه مهوش هندوستـــان should be taken as ناصیه ماه وش هندوستـــان thus adding one more figure to the total by the addition of the letter "Alif" الف which will bring up the date to the time of arrival of the Emperor in the area, thus solving the discrepancy of one year. This addition of the letter "Alif" does not effect the rhyme of the meter. I have included this in my version of the rendering at the conclusion of this paper.

We also see from the picture herein reproduced that the top lines are inscribed fully, and no space is left on either side of the verses on the slab. But in the details of completion given below the verses, we find that on either side of those lines the slab is bare.

And also a space exists between the chronogram line and the first line of the concluding details which bears the marks of writing. Apparently some words were inscribed in this space which have fallen off, or become worn away by sun, rain and wind but has left its signs on the slab in the form of white interwoven impressions. In other places also the marks of words having fallen off are perceptible. It is, therefore, probable that what we now see is an incomplete text. In the photograph given here a few strokes of some words can be made out, e.g., after the word Darogha (داروغه) in the first line of the details at the bottom, a stroke like (سے) is perceptible, which probably was the beginning of the word Sheikh (شیخ) the rest of this word having now become worn away. This was most probably Darogha Sheikh Abdul Aziz, who was in the royal camp in 1084 A.H.

Another interesting point which has come to my notice is the fact that Ahmad Maamar died in the year 1059 A.H. The date of his death is quoted in two chronograms by the late Syed Sulaiman Nadvi, in his admirable article published in the proceedings of the Idara-i-Ma'arif-i-Islamia 1933. They are as follows:—

(a) شد بہ فردوس احمد معمار
(b) محمود العاقبت شد احمد

Both the chronograms give his date of death as 1059 A.H. (1649 A.D.). It could, therefore, not have been him who executed this task in the Margalla Pass in 1084 A.H., as has been deciphered by the previous scholars.

From the *Maathir-i-Alamgiri* we, however find Lutf Ullah in the Emperor's camp at the same time. This Lutf Ullah is none other than the celebrated son

of Ahmad Maamar; the other two being Ata Ullah and Nur Ullah. All three were engineers, architects, poets and astronomers. It is therefore probable that in the empty space before the name of Ahmad Maamar in this inscription two more words must have been present, viz., Pur-i-Ustad (پورا استاد). Lutf Ullah was fond of writing thus on such occasions; as for instance, the following couplet will show:

منکہ ہستم فقیر لطف اللہ
بہندس شہیر در افواہ
خاکپائے ہنروران کبار
پور استاد احمد معمار

He has also been seen to mention himself as Ibn Ustad Ahmad Maamar (ابن استاد احمد معمار) in the inscription on the mausoleum of Hoshang Ghori in Mandu. In my opinion this empty space must have either carried the words Pur-i-Ustad or Ibn-i-Ustad Ahmad Maamar. It is certain that the great master was not alive in the year of this renovation, and it must have been the celebrated son Lutf Ullah, who performed this task in the year 1084 A.H. In his presence at Hassan Abdal no one else could have been deputed to undertake this work of repairs.

Below I give my version of the rendering of this inscription, which may help scholars to link it further. The underlined words are my variations.

RASHID (1956)

هوالقادر

خان قوی پنجۂ مهابت شکوه
شیر ز سر پنجۂ او ناتوان
در کتل مار گلہ آنکہ بود
باکره چرخ بریں تو امان

ساخت چنان راه بروی شرف

که سر بزد چرخ بر صد زمان

گفت مغل در پی تاریخ سال

ناصیہ ماه وش هندوستان

(the letters have been effaced)

باہتمام مولانا محمد میان و داروغہ شیخ (عبدالعزیز) [و پور استاد]

احمد معمار و جوگیداس و دیالداس

- - - - - تحویلدار سن ۱۰۸۴ھ

مرمت شد

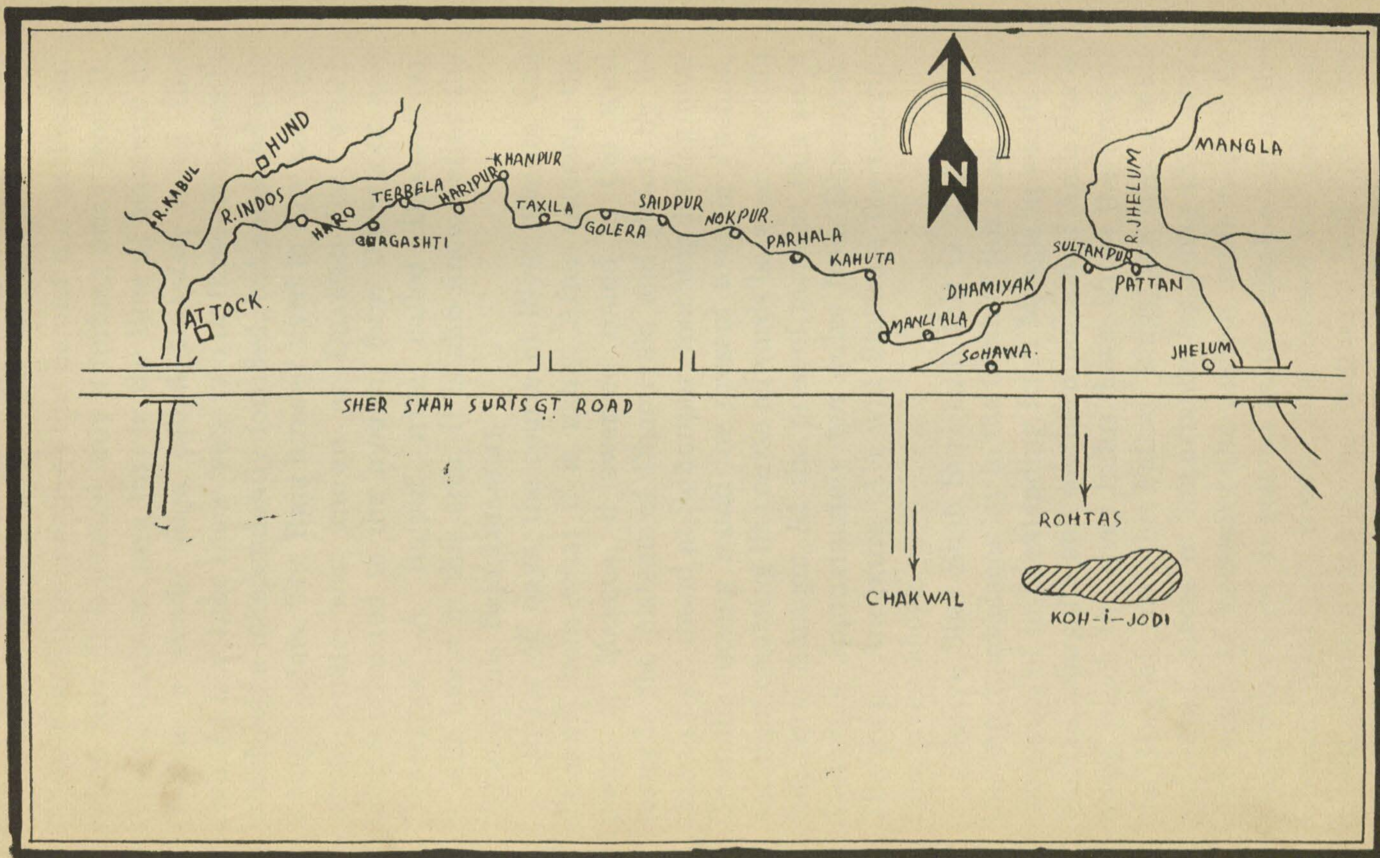
IDENTIFICATION OF DHAMIYAK

DHAMIYAK is the place where Sultan Moiz-ud-Din bin Baha-ud-Din Muhammad Sam Shahab-ud-Din Ghauri was murdered while returning to Ghazni, after restoring order in the plains of the Punjab in the year 602 A.H. We first come across this name in *Tabqati-Nasri,* and later in the histories of Farishta and Badaoni, who have spelt it variously. Except for the detail that this place is situated on the Jhelum River (Sehun and Abi-Nilab) no other description is available to enable us to identify its location. To some historians this place may not seem very important, but once we ponder as to why Sultan Muhammad Ghauri adopted this route on his return, we will perceive that this place Dhamiyak lay on the ancient route of communication, which was the life-line in the days prior to the Grand Trunk Road of Sher Shah Suri, which was constructed some 344 years later.

Proceeding from Jhelum towards Rawalpindi, and after passing SOHAWA (27 miles) we come to a new road which turns to the South of the G. T. Road, towards CHAKWAL. Opposite this junction is a small track which goes over undulating but difficult country towards the north-east. Four miles from the G. T. Road on this track is situated the small hamlet of

Annexure "A"

ANCIENT ROUTES OF COMMUNICATION



Dhamiyak. To the north of this hamlet is a settlement called KOT. It is located only a furlong away from it. A local tradition says that in the time of Mahmud of Ghazna a Hindu Raja called DHAMMI ruled this area. At that time there were two or three settlements which were independently fortified, but collected into a single estate. The Raja himself lived in KOT and the whole estate was known as DHAMMI-KOT, which later contracted to the modern form DHAMMAK and DHAMIYAK. A Rajput tribe called DHAMMIYAL is still found in this area. It is also known after the name of this Raja DHAMMI.

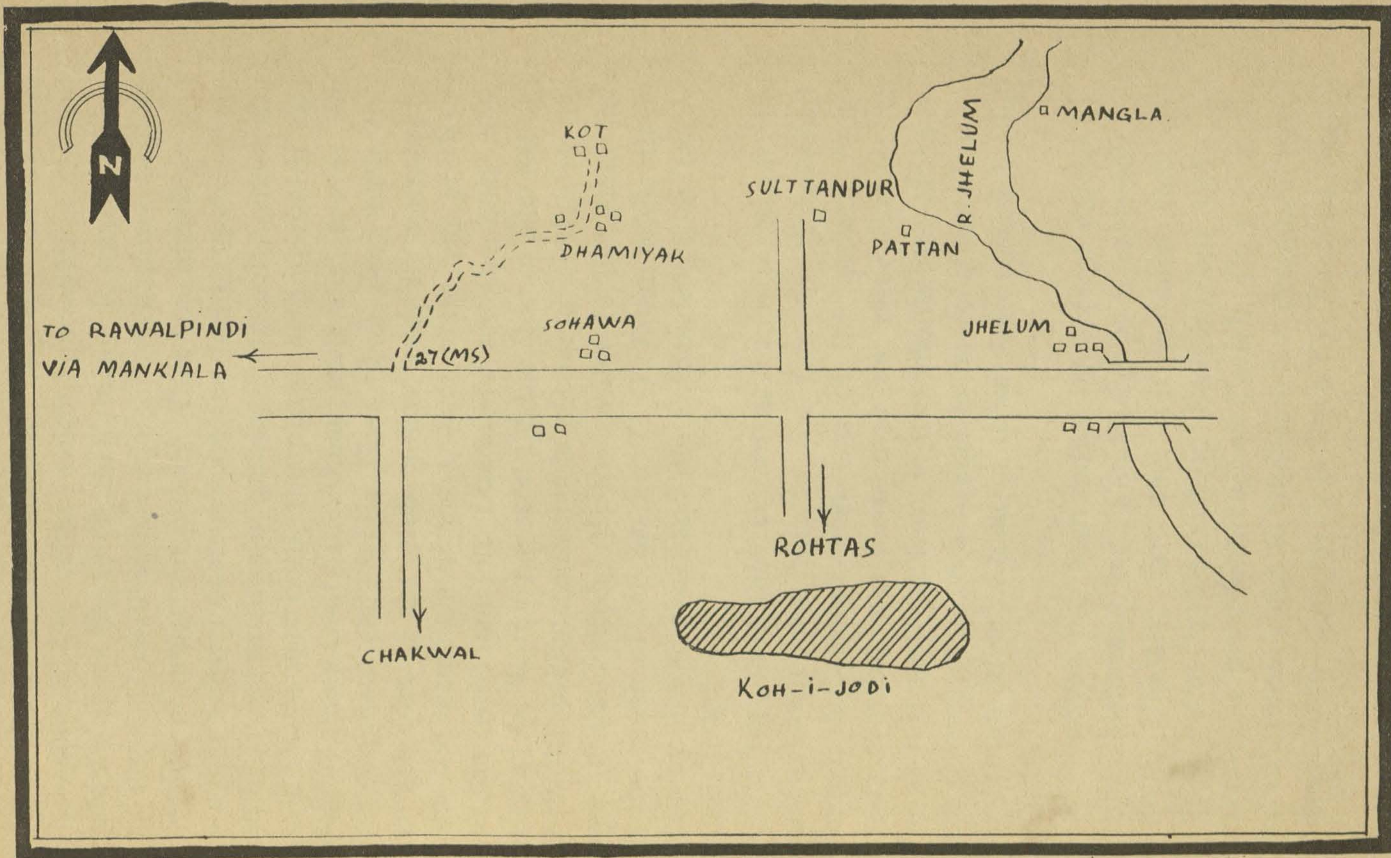
In far off days, the course of River Jhelum was different from what it is today. After entering the plains at MANGLA, it swerved round to the west towards the plateau of Dhamiyak, and glided by its side to turn round at Sultanpur, touching Pattan near Ghatiali, curving round the present town of Jhelum, and then resuming its course onwards between Jhelum and Serai Alamgir. At the present moment this river Jhelum is approximately ten miles from Dhamiyak. The map (Annexure 'A') will illustrate the description given above.

Before Sher Shah Suri built this G. T. Road, all the important places lay to the north of this road, along the range of hills extending from Mangla upwards to Murree, Margalla and southern portion of Amb State, along which the river Indus flows. Up to the time of the Mughals and the Pathan kings, the strongholds and other places of importance lay along this area, and hence of necessity the ancient route had to be along this range. It started in the north-west in the Chchach Valley of Hazro. This crossed the Indus, at HUND. Coming along the southern bank of river

Indus, it made its way to Haripur via Terbala. On this route lay Hatiya, Nagarkot, Srikot and the famous Gandgarh mountains. From Haripur the route proceeded to Taxila via Khanpur. Thereafter, serving the cities of Sirkap and Sirsukh, it crossed over the Margalla range and touching GOLERA, it made for SAIDPUR and NURPUR along the range of Murree Hills. It will be interesting to note that almost all the forts and strongholds lay along this route, remanents of which are discernable to this day. From Nurpur the route crossed over the present Rawalpindi-Murree road, and reached the Gakhar stronghold at PARHALA from where it touched KAHUTA and reached MANKIALA. It will be seen, that most of this last portion is common with the present G. T. Road. But from here it again turns towards the northern range of hills to proceed to Dhamiyak, at which place the crossing used to be made up till the time of Muhammad Ghauri. After this we find the place of crossing shifting to Sultanpur, Pattan and Jhelum, respectively, as the course of the river receded to its present position. The map at Annexure 'B' will illustrate the route track described above. It will have also become evident that Dhamiyak lay at the extreme eastern end of this route and the river Jhelum had to be crossed at this place.

With the shifting of the old route, the places of interest also shifted along the new road. We thus see that Babar was the last king to cross the Indus at Hund; the crossing being made later on at Attock, where Akbar made his great fort. It will be of interest to see that there is no marked difference between the distances of the two routes. Whichever way is adopted, the distances between the important places already described remained the same. Al-Beurni and Heuan

Amexure "B"
Location of Dhamirjak



Tsang measure the distance between Taxila and Mankiala as 33½ miles, which approximates to the distance along the G. T. Road today. It was therefore not the distance that mattered on these routes, but the location of important places. What was aimed at was to avoid natural obstructions and facilitate the crossing of rivers at suitable points. Eventually, when the G. T. Road was built, the places of importance had shifted along with it. Akbar built his fort at the western-most end, while Sher Shah Suri built the Rohtas Fort at the eastern-most end. In contrast to this, the terminals of the ancient route was at Hund on the west and at Dhamiyak on the east. The original G. T. Road passed by the side of the Rohtas Fort; the present position is a later diversion in the time of the British. All the earlier fortifications lay to the north of the present G. T. Road, while those built by the Mughals and the Pathan kings lay to the south of it.

It was thus that Dhamiyak came to be on the ancient route and was in the time of Muhammad Ghauri the eastern-most end of the ancient route where crossing was made over the river Jhelum. It was at this spot—at least in its vicinity that Muhammad Ghauri ordered a bridge to be constructed over the Jhelum river, which in those days passed by its side.

Dhamiyak has been called by several names by Muslim historians, e.g., Farishta calls it variously as Rehtak, DHAMIK, but the fact remains that its correct name is DHAMIYAK. Badaoni has spelt it correctly in his *Muntakhab-ut-Tarikh*. He has even used diacritical signs to illustrate the pronunciations. *Tabqat-i-Nasiri* also spells it correctly. Farishta some-

how does not appear to be very particular about the spelling of proper nouns. He has similarly created some confusion with regard to other names also; as for instance, he writes the word Khokhar in such a way that it looks more like the word Gakhar. Comparing the texts concerning the version in *Tabqat-i-Nasiri*, and *Tarikh-i-Badaoni*, one perceives that while these two write the name correctly as Kokhar and Kokharan, Farishta simply says Khakhar and Khakharan. This has misled many an historian to believe that the murderers of Sultan Ghauri were Gakhars and NOT Khokhars, whereas the actual fact is, that the Sultan was murdered by the Khokhars and not by the Gakhars. This can be supported from other facts; e.g., the Sultan had come to suppress a rising of the Khokhars in the plains of the Punjab and he curbed them with an iron hand. It was natural that some of their tribe should take a revenge. Secondly, the Gakhars are in a very small minority in this district, and could not have arisen against the Sultan. Their stronghold was in the district of Rawalpindi. And, thirdly, the author of *Tabqat-i-Nasiri* has located the murderer from a tribe of Koh-i-Jodi. This mountain is in the heart of Jhelum district, and is known after the name of Raja JOD, a Rajput monarch. The Khokhars are Rajputs and come from this area. It is therefore certain that the murderer of Muhammad Ghauri was a Khokhar and not a Gakhar. Even Lanepoole and Elliot in their histories have been misled to repeat this impression of Farishta, that the murderer of Sultan Muhammad Ghauri was a Gakhar. It is regrettable that such mal-appropisms should be the source of great headache for our scholars, who have to try hard to understand the real facts.

HISTORIC KITAS

(1)

Situated a couple of miles above, and to the north-west of Choya Saidan Shah, in the Jhelum district, is the historic hamlet of Kitas, which abounds in buildings of antiquity. In front of it lies the valley of Gandhala, popularly known as the Kahun valley. In its midst sparkles a beautiful pool of crystal clear water.

Originally, the home of the Janjua Rajputs, the area is also populated by the sturdy Awans. This place has been visited by several monarchs. After spending some time in Kalar Kahar, Babar visited this place, and founded near it the village of Badshahpur; while Sher Shah Suri passed this way chasing the Gakhars, driving them to their strongholds beyond the Rohtas.

The Sikhs during their short regime did not devote much attention to its improvement. They were, in fact, responsible for the destruction that one sees in the hamlet today. Earlier still, it was the headquarters of the kings of Kashmir, who extended their rule all over the district (635-939 A.D.). In the earliest historical accounts of this place we find it described as Amar Kund, where Vishnu was worshipped. It became the place of pilgrimage. The holy pool depict-

ceives that some of these buildings have been renovated and turned into a teaching institution called the Jamia Qirtas. The conversation of Kitas into Qirtas is a romantically appropriated innovation.

This area is the interior of the Jhelum district, and is the home of many a martial family which feeds the Pakistan Army. It has produced great soldiers and generals. The first V.C. in the pre-Pakistan Indian Army came from this area. This place is far flung from any civilisation, and there are no teaching institutions or facilities for the children of the soldiers for many a mile around. The soldiers round this area put their heads together to solve this dire problem of educating their children. In the year 1956 a few buildings that were lying unattended were acquired, and were converted into the present school. It had a very quick response, and the number of students which now flock to this institution is considerable. A boarding house has been started and the school is run on a public system.

There are no less than fifty buildings in Kitas. Most of these buildings do not date beyond three hundred years; except of course, for the temples and the Stupa. The mosque may well be of the pre-Mughal Muslim period. The architecture of these buildings presents a combination of the Moghul and Rajput styles. The temples show a Kashmirian touch. Quite a few of the buildings show alterations and most of these appear to have been made during the Sikh regime. Special efforts have been made to beautify the structure which is now popularly known as the Rest House of some Sikh Raja of Jammu. Its doorways overlooking the pool have carved slabs brought in from other buildings. The fittings are discordant.

There are also mural designs painted on the inner walls of some of the buildings. The outside plaster is a recent replacement carried out during the last repairs not very far ago. A stone slab bearing an Urdu inscription in the form of a poem, giving the history of the place in outline, was installed by the Hindus of the area in 1907 A.D. This stone exists today, and is carefully looked after by the school authorities. This inscription is of interest for those that collect inscriptions of Urdu, as there are so few of them to be seen about. The pioneer of this institution is Brigadier Gulzar Ahmad of the Pakistan Army, who hails from a respectable Janjua Rajput family of Khajula.

The climate of Kitas is very bracing. It is cooler in summer than most of the places in the plains. The nights are extremely pleasant. It is on a higher altitude than Choya Saidan Shah, which is situated down below in the Gandhala Valley, on the road to Pind Dadan Khan. The road which leads out towards Chakwal, was also metalled in the year 1956. It is a delightful place with much history, and is an admirable place for the tourists interested in the early history of Pakistan. The Tourists Bureau will, therefore, do well to open a centre in Kitas and enhance its importance.

NEW LIGHT ON ANCIENT HISTORY OF PAKISTAN

Six-and-a-half miles from Campbellpur, on the right-hand side of Choi Road, before one reaches the Dak Bunglow, which is at the first turning before the Harro River, there is a dark-looking rock lying off the road about one furlong from the main road, on which peculiar inscriptions are inscribed. They remind one of the inscriptions in Burma or Central India.

Before describing the inscriptions and attempting their decipherment, it is necessary to describe briefly this area and to point out the salient features of its general layout and geological construction, so as to bring home a historical anticipation of its antiquity.

The area stretching between the Choi Road and the Grand Trunk Road—a distance of about ten miles—is a vast undulating stretch of ground encirled on its western side by the River Harro, and the outlying ranges of the barren hills of Attock. This area is completely dry and is dependent for its seasonal crops on the meagre occasional rainfall. The ground is rocky and devoid of vegetation. It is riddled with small pebbles and rounded stones of varying sizes, which speak of this land as having formed the bed of a vast lake in the post-glacial period. To-day hamlets are

seen scattered about every other mile, dependent on odd springs and country wells. Almost all these hamlets are situated on lowlying mounds. This area, and also the one beyond its continuation across the Grand Trunk Road as far as the district goes, must have been a vast lake, as Babar also speaks of hunting the rhinocerous in the marshes of Hazro in his *Tuzk*. And even to-day we can see the marshy superbs of Hazro. This must be the last portion of the lake drying up. The history of climatic rotation also points to this area having been fertile once; perhaps when Europe was under ice! It certainly was not so barren as it looks to-day; for it has seen many a civilisation flourish in its vicinity, and was a witness to the great hoards of invaders passing by. A great jungle even existed here in the time of Tuglaqs, as mentioned by the author of *Tarikh-i-Feroze Shahi*.

The Rock Inscriptions

The particular rock I am about to describe is visible from the road side. It is ten feet long, five feet broad, and about four feet in thickness. It has been greatly damaged; pieces are falling off, some by natural climatic conditions and some by the hands of seekers of suitable material for the construction of houses. Such has been the fate of many a relic. In Babylon to-day, most of the ancient masonry is to be found in the houses of the adjacent villages! The rock has a metallic appearance and is quite strong.

This rock is riddled with most peculiar inscriptions of varying sizes and shapes, arranged unsymmetrically. These inscriptions seem to be drilled out, probably with the aid of sharply pointed metal instruments. They are not chiselled, as one finds in the Cuneiform inscriptions, or other later day writings.

Most of these inscriptions have unfortunately faded out. The sun shining on them as it wanes from east to west, makes them very obscure, and one is apt to miss them. This glare also makes a difficult picture. It is apprehended that if these inscriptions are not preserved from further unfavourable conditions, they are likely to vanish in a few years time.

The above-mentioned rock is lying on the edge of the *nullah* already described, and in the past must have been a much larger block. Pieces of it lie about in its vicinity. The *nullah* runs first from north to south, and then from west to the east, at which bend the rock lies on its northern edge. On the opposite side of this portion of the *nullah,* there is another longer piece of stone lying horizontally, which bears similar inscriptions. These inscriptions are almost identical, but have faded considerably and it is difficult to photograph them. These rocks with inscriptions are not mentioned in any book of history—either in Urdu, Persian or English. As such, they are indeed a new discovery, and the Pakistan Archaeological Department is invited to make further research. Extensive work is bound to throw a flood of light on the history of this district as a result of which some new facts will come to light about the glorious heritage of our country.

As I have said above the inscriptions are worked out with a sharply pointed instrument and unlike the Cuneiform writing, the figures or letters are formed by the conglomeration of small dots which are struck into the stone. They may be considered a form of pictographs, rather than genuine writing of an alphabet. If at all these pictographs may be said to resemble a writing akin to Sanskrit. Some of the

figures even resemble letters of the Sinaitic alphabet! However, it is certainly surprising that the inscription is partly figurative, for, it clearly denotes a very early period in the history of civilisation of this district. Admitting my limitations in the knowledge of the Sanskrit and Pali languages, I can only trace in them a very early Aryan influence. A few of the figures can also be compared with the early Sumerian writing as found on the Sumerian Seals, and the like of which have also been discovered in the Indus Valley.

In my opinion, these inscriptions belong to some Aryan tribe, which very early, and perhaps immediately after the onset of the Aryan influx into the valley of the Indus, penetrated in this district, along the course of the Indus River and spread in the fertile plain of the Punjab. Simultaneously, other branches may have advanced in other directions to establish civilisations at Harappa and Mohinjo Daro. The present rocks are remnants of the landmarks left by them in the district of Attock.

The inscriptions by no means suggest to me a Buddhistic influence, which flourished in its vicinity and in this area in the fourth century before Christ: for, the art of writing then was fully developed and small identations of this kind were not in vogue. Proper chisels had not yet been invented to carve out of stone appropriate words. Further, these figures are not arranged in a regular manner, nor are they in a straight line, which also speaks of their antiquity.

A little more search along the Harro River would perhaps disclose a few more rocks of similar design or perhaps of a later period and thus enable us to assess their period more accurately. I have seen a few

more rocks with inscriptions along the river Indus, which I shall describe presently. In the meantime, we can rest assured that the Aryan origin of these inscriptions cannot be disputed.

I have brought out certain facts which reveal the possibility of an ancient civilisation in the district of Attock, much before the time of Buddhism. So far no account is available in history books as to the evidence of such a period, although the district Gazetteer abounds in fables of Hindu mythology. This mythology has so far remained unconfirmed historically. The gap may be filled some day, when more light is thrown on the past history of this district. Nevertheless, at the present moment, the scanty evidence at our disposal will enable us to proceed further in our present quest.

I will now describe some other rocks with inscriptions situated along the Indus River.

The Indus River is more important than the Ganges and the Jamna, from the point of view of the ancient history of this subcontinent. The Ganges and Jamna portray an advanced culture, whereas the Indus reflects the colossal spade work of establishing the preliminary stages of a magnificent civilization. The Ganges and the Jamna provided fertile ground for the development of culture; epics were built in these bountiful settings—a correct background for the creation of a cosy mythology to satisfy the unsettled minds of the wandering tribes. The Indus was thus the symbol of toil and progress, while the Ganges and the Jamna were symbols of peace and prosperity. The Indus River was the most imposing feature for the incoming Aryan tribes; just as it was for later day conquerers—Alexander and Muhammad Bin Qasim,

In the early period of the history of mankind, man was influenced by natural phenomena and his one desire was to locate the sources of these awe-inspiring displays of nature, in the search of which he developed a faith.

It was, perhaps, in one of these searches that the incoming tribes from Sumer—better known as the Aryans—made up their way up along the course of the Indus River, and entered the fertile plain of the Punjab. With them they had brought their smattering of pictographic writing, with which they recorded their progress on huge rocks, as they passed by.

Proceeding from Attock, immediately as one gets to the Peshawar end of the gigantic Attock bridge, where the guard stands; there is a turning to the left, which is the old Kohat Road. Driving on this road for about four miles one comes to a beautiful small low-lying green valley in which is situated the village of Darwazai. This road passes through the village; it then climbs up a steep hill leading to a plateau. After crossing this village, we alighted from our car and made for the river bank, which all the time runs along this road at a distance of a few hundred yards. This is a broken piece of land.

After reaching the river bank we walked down another mile and a half. This area is riddled with small and large stones. Finally we came to the large rocks which are four in number—three are situated adjacent to each other and the fourth lies at some distance from the rest. The three rocks lying close together seem to be parts of the same large rock which has split as under. Floods have indeed been reported quite often in the Indus River and one such flood in 1929, brought the water level to about a foot

below the bridge! This suggestion cannot be merely brushed aside. Firstly, because the present site is not a suitable one for the Aryans to have inscribed the rocks. The water level in those days was certainly much higher and the rocks, if they have not shifted their position, must have been submerged in water. Secondly, rocks such as these, never fall off in chips when they break. Human hands can break them into small pieces, but cannot split them into such large blocks. No portion of the rocks is missing either. I am inclined to believe that these rocks were located somewhere higher up—probably in the vicinity of Tarbela or Girgashti, and have been washed down with floods.

Unfortunately I have no means at my disposal to attempt to decipher these inscriptions. But I have no doubt that they can be read easily by experts in the profession.

Lost Tribes of Israel

Coming down from Campbellpur towards Hazro, we enter an area with raw history.

A few of the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel are said to have found their way into the North-Western Frontier Provinces of Pakistan and traces of them are also said to be found in the valley of Kashmir. A small place in the Hazara District, which lies near the border of Tehsil Hazro of the Attock District, called Gurgashti recently attracted my attention on account of the following verse in the Old Testament:

"And the Amorites, And the Canaanites
And the Girgashites, And the Jebusites."

Genesis XV:21

This hamlet is situated on a prominent mound, and reminds one of the ancient sites.

What is most interesting is the striking resemblence between the two names of Hazro and Hazara, situated on either side of this hamlet Gurgashti. These denominations claim special notice and attention in their etymological bearing, as the Arabic Hazra signifies expelling, proscribing and banishing, while its derivative Hazir means expellent, and banished. What more appropriate general names for the banished Israel could there be ?

This banishment took place 2,600 years ago in the time of Nabuchadnassar or Bakht Nasar, as he is popularly known in the Arab countries. Is it not possible that just as the tribes of Yusafzais, Daudzais and Sulaimanzais have been located in the tribal territories of N.-W.F.P. as being a few of the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel, the Girgashites of the Old Testament are another of the lost ones which settled down in Girgashti—now wrongly called Gurgashti—and in its vicinity in Hazro and Hazara? In the decipherment of historical names, metathesis cannot be ruled out and has taken place in the histories of all countries and civilizations.

Perhaps a future historian may throw some further light on this problem. In the past, the famous Arab Geographer, Abu Al-Qasim Muhammad bin Hauqal, was the first to point out the fact that the Jews did exist in the suburbs of Afghanistan. His voluminous work has been translated by Sir William Ouseley under the caption of "The Oriental Geography of Ibn Haukal."

A few miles from the village of Gurgashti, situated towards Haripur side, there is another place of historical interest. This is called Tarbela. Maulana Ismail Shahid gave a crushing defeat to the Sikhs at this place before his final defeat at Balakot and he

seems to have gone there along the banks of the River Indus to Darband and from there onwards to Balakot, through Umb, Mansehra and Shinkiari—thus bypassing Abbottabad. However, that is besides the point at present. Tarbela, reminds one of a place in Iraq called Arbela, popularly known as Irbil these days. Irbil is an ancient town and is one of the two oldest inhabited places never having suffered destruction, like Babylon, Ashur, Ninevah, Mohinjo Daro or Harappa. The other being Damascus. In the days of the Hittites and the Assyrians this place was called Araba-ilu. Araba in Arabic means four and Ilu is the original form of Eloah or Allah of later days. It, therefore, means a place where four gods were worshipped. The name evidently has undergone a considerable metathesis in its present form of Irbil. Now, we know that these four gods were Indra, Viruna, Mithra and Assur. Tarbela naturally points to a Trinity: as on the analogy of the etymology of Arbela—renowned also on account of the Battle of Arbela which was fought between Alexander and Darius—this name seems to suggest an earlier form Triba-ilu. This means a place where three gods are worshipped. And we know that the Trinity in India at that time, just as now, was formed by Brahma, Vishnu and Maheshwara, which conjointly and symbolically represented the attributes of the Omnipotent Aum. If this be so, it further points to the antiquity of the area under discussion.

Traces of Civilisation

Now, the whole of this area along the Indus River has been the route into India of many an incoming tribe, since time immemorial. This route started a little above the present site of Attock, and goes along

the bank of this great river, through Shamasabad, Hazro, Gurgashti, Tarbela and ended at Haripur in Hazara. This land was a part and parcel of the kingdom of Taxila in olden days and perhaps it was in the hey days of Taxila that the Israel sought refuge in their domains. Traces of earlier civilization are discernable here. Unfortunately, very little material is available regarding the history of these districts, to enable one to work further on its past. These places abound in historical remains. The Gazetteer of the districts are rampant with fables; Mortimer Wheeler adds nothing original about this area in his "5,000 *Years of Pakistan*"; "*Tarikh-i-Feroze Shahi*" and "*Tuzk-i-Baberi*" give accounts of military excursions only and "*Chchach Nama*" deals with nothing pre-Islamic. Research on the historical background of the two districts is therefore impossible; but, scope for further excavations is ample, which the Archaeological Department can undertake.

I have seen a well in Darya, a mile from Hazro, in which kiln-baked clay rings of one yard diameter and four inches of width have been used to line its interior. It is exactly the same as one sees in the Fertile Crescent, belonging to the Sumerian Period. There is no doubt about its antiquity. This well is functioning and people use it for drawing water. Its depth is not more than ten feet.

Mounds scattered here and there, betray a hoary civilization buried underneath. Figurines of clay have been found in this locality by the residents of the area, while laying foundations of new houses on these mounds. What treasures lie buried underneath awaits an expert hand to discover.

HISTORICAL METATHESIS

When we study the ancient civilisations, we find that a large number of proper nouns and other terms were borrowed by one people from another after some alterations, special attention being paid to the construction of such words before their absorption. It is mainly for this reason that we find some similarity in the thought and language of a great many civilisations.

Sometimes even the terminology has been translated, e.g., the Tricuspid Valve is called in Arabic *Sukar-i-Thalthi,* and the Semi-Lunar Valve is known as the *Sukar-i-Hillali.* Sometimes the names are adopted exactly as they are with slight alteration of connotation, e.g., table in English is the rendering of the word *tabal* in Arabic; chair has assumed the present shape from the Arabic original *kursi,* having passed through the French equivalent 'chaire'. It will be amply evident that when such conversions and transpositions take place, the basic syllable is neither discarded nor disturbed, the alphabetical potentiality being the governing factor in all transpositions.

Just as decipherment of inscriptions is an essential part of historical research, similarly a knowledge of the science of transposition of various letters in the names and terms which exchange places from

time to time, and from country to country is an integral part of historical research. In the science of higher historical research, one must be able to distinguish the similarity which exists between names and other proper nouns, in different languages and countries. The process of metathesis starts with the fact that as the various alphabets develop during the course of time, they omit certain sounds denoted by letters, the usage of which is not thought to be necessary, and which can be easily done away with. Or, in some cases alternative letters are used to express the same sounds in other dialects. The examples of interchangeability of the letters P and F, and B and W, in Arabic and Sanskrit respectively may be cited here. This is yet another type of transposition of words or letters. What we call metathesis is really the science of transposition of words or letters comprising them, in which the position of letters is changed and is adopted in a different manner in another language. As an example of this type may be quoted the words Rama and Amar.

There is yet another type of transposition in which letters are added by the scribe (unconsciously) so as to make the entire word look different. I have seen the letters BA added to proper nouns in Arabic and Persian words, thus camouflaging the entire word, and making it difficult to understand. For instance, Hatia has been written and reproduced as Bahatiya. This has further been reproduced as Bhatiya, and deciphered by our modern historians as Bhatinda and Bhera. The original word or name was actually Hatiyan (a place near Hazro), and while writing, the scribe put it down as Ba Hatiya, prefixing

the Arabic azdhafat to the original word, thus giving it an entirely different shape.

There are also names which change pronunciation with change of beliefs. Umbela and Ambala are two examples. Both spring from the same word Amb, which means a goddess (mother). Ela, Ilu and Ala are striking examples of metathesis. The word La wherever it occurs always stands for the Supreme Deity and is the root of the word Allah. This word has gone through a great deal of metathesis in the course of history. Its meaning was always the same as the Muslims understand from the word Allah. But different people have used it for minor deities. Its original form, as we find it from history, was Ilu. At least, this is the earliest form so far deciphered from the cuneiform inscriptions. It was this form Ilu, which became Il, Eloah, Allah, etc. The Al persisted throughout the ages. Babylon was Bab 'II: Arabela was Araba Ilu (now Irbil near Mosul); Terbela near Hazro was Triba Ilu; Ambala in East Punjab was Amba Ilu; Daibal near Karachi was Dib Il; Lahore was La Ur; and so on and so forth. The prominent feature remains constant, but varies as people move from country to country and from faith to faith.

The King List

In the king lists discovered from the Fertile Crescent and the Indus Valley, we find that the same name is spelt in different ways. This is again due to the fact that in different regions different alphabets were in vogue, and each spelt names in its own way. Hence when these names were deciphered there was found to be a great deal of variation, and in certain cases the entire names were made to look different. This is especially evident in the king lists of the Fertile Crescent and the Indus Valley, where one

king often ruled over vast territories and often over different countries where people of different tribes and stocks lived, and had developed distinct languages of their own. Each one pronounced and spelt his name in its own peculiar fashion, creating considerable confusion in the decipherment of such names. I would like here to cite the interesting example of the name of Sargon the Great, who bears considerable historical significance. This great king ruled not only over Sumer but in the Indus Valley also in the third millenium B.C. His name appears in different inscriptions as follows:

Kish Inscriptions.	Indian List of Aryan kings	Sumerian Cuneiform Inscriptions	Erech Dynasty	Kish Dynasty
Sharrukin ...	Shakuni	Urdugina	Gunni	Shakin
	Sagara	Bar-gin	Ganni	Sha-gin
	Pracin-Wat	Sharr-ganni		Shagur
	Bardwaja	Barduibuz		

It will appear from the above table that equation of the Sumerian Bar-gin and Barduibiz with the Indian Pracin-wat and Bardwaja are noteworthy. The second syllable of the name Urudugina reads both as DU and KA in cuneiform inscriptions. But DU seems to be the correct form in view of one of the Indus Valley version giving his name as Bardwaja.

This king Sargon the Great was a descendent of the first Aryan king Ikshawaku. His orginal name was, Gir, or Ganni, Gunni, or Shar Gunni. It is from this original name that he is known amongst the Arabs as Sharghun. The Indian king list also possesses certain other variations for this name such as, Kuni, Shakkuni. With the latter the title Sagara is also fixed. He is the famous Raja Sagar of Hindu mythology.

Sargon the Great

Archaeological research in the Fertile Crescent has now proved that Sargon the Great ruled not only over the Babylonian territories, but also in Egypt and the Indus Valley. His son Menes was the governor of the Indus Valley who ruled the place in the name of his father. The name of Menes has been deciphered variously. This has led to a great deal of confusion over certain historical facts. In one tablet his name appears as Narem Sin; while in another it is written as Amar Sin! It was this Menes who, after revolting against his father, went over to Egypt, occupied it, and called himself as Paru. This title Paru is the origin of the word Pharaoh. In other words, Menes was the first Pharaoh of Egypt. Sharpe in his History of Egypt seems to accept this view, even though it was written a long time before the present Fertile Crescent discoveries and decipherments were made. But I am here only concerned with the metathesis of words and not the history of the people; therefore, I will restrict myself to these transpositions only.

Now, the title Paru as I have said is the root of the word Pharaoh. How came this about? There has been a great deal of interchange between the letter P & B and P & F, as I have already mentioned above. In the Sumerian language there is an expression called Bar and Baru which both mean Lord. These words later assumed the form Par and Paru and kept the meaning constant wherever this word went. As in the Arabic or the Semitic languages there is no P, it was obviously changed into F, and Paru became Faru, which later developed into the subsequent forms of Fara, Firon, and Pharaoh! While the same word when it reached Siam, became Phra meaning, once again, Lord. It is the same word again which we find

in India being used in other ways, such as Pra-Bhu (Lord of the Land), and Pra Yag (the old name of Allahabad).

Although, the different names mentioned above are of recent discovery, they are not without meaning. Even the words like Sumerians and Aryans have their origin and meaning, and I think it is important to understand them. The Sumerians never called themselves Sumerians. It is the Assyriologists who have given them this name. The original word from which this term was coined is Shamer, which is a territorial title even to this day. The very name is Semitic! How can Sumerians then be non-Semistic Babylonnians? The title Arya similarly means noble or exalted. It is derived from the Sumerian AR, ARA, meaning exalted, shining and glory. It is the root of the English word 'aristocrat', and who knows, the name Aristotle was born out of it! The Sumerians we have amply proved here were Semitic people; hence the very title Arya is also of Semistic origin, and the Aryans are a Semitic people.

Another type of metathesis which has been met with is the "Ox Plough Furrow" type of writing, in which the scribe had the habit of writing in a reverse fashion in alternating lines. It was on account of this Amar became Rama! Many more examples are available of this type of metathesis.

THE SUMERIANS

THE terms Semitic and non-Semitic are highly confusing; especially in so far as they concern the distribution of the Sumerians and the Akkadians in the Fertile Crescent.

The Sumerians, it is claimed, occupied the southern part of the Fertile Crescent, and were called non-Semitic Babylonians; while the northern portion of the Fertile Crescent was occupied by the Semitic Babylonians called the Akkadians.

Still north of the Akkadians, in Anatolia, lived the Hitties, who later in history are called the Mitanis (at least one branch of them); and still later, when they move towards the south, come to be known as the Hurris!

I have failed to understand how the Hittite Ar-yans were able to by-pass the Akkadians and come to settle in the southern part of the Fertile Crescent, and form the civilization of Sumer. My apprehensions are still further confirmed when I find the Elamite Aryans sitting next door to Ur of the Chaldes.

If ever the Aryans wanted to come to the southern part of the Fertile Crescent, it was much more simple for them just to trickle down from the south-eastern part of Iran into the south of Babylonia, rather than finding a much longer and tedious route through Anatolia, and Assyria.

I am prepared to admit that some bloody battles were fought on the plains of Assur and Nimrood, between the Akkadians and the Hittites. But the Hittites were either driven back into Anatolia or into the north of Syria; but they were never allowed to pass through the Akkadian land.

And then, the Elamites had a full grown civilization. They had even evolved a type of Cuneiform inscription which is almost contemporary with the Babylonian script. Why should then this tribe of the Hittites move into the south of the Fertile Crescent to establish the Sumerian civilization?

Tribal Migration

To understand the problem of tribal migration in the Fertile Crescent, we must resort to the works of eminent Assyriologists like Sir Henry Layard, Sir Wallis Budge, Sidney Smith, and L. W. King, who have worked in these areas, and have left us accounts which have become classics.

In order, therefore, to study the movement and history of these tribes of this area, we cannot overlook the fact that a great migration had taken place from the steppes of Central Asia into Iran and Babylonia. But before this migration took place these places were not uninhabited. They had their own civilizations, whatever stage they might have attained. There was later an admixture of races and a clash of cultures; the newcomer always super-imposing a superior civilization on the existing one.

As the tribes poured in from different directions, and at different periods, the archaeologist confronted his combats in the clay documents he later dug up, in his search for history. In some cases he discovered their names in others he concocted them, while yet

in others he borrowed them from the Bible. He just kept putting on the labels; sometimes indiscriminately, in his passion to prove the Bible! The current nomenclature of the tribes, thus became confusing. This could all have been avoided if the tribes had been numbered.

Civilization of the Fertile Crescent

One must not forget that civilization did exist in the south of the Fertile Crescent (Ur of the Chaldes) prior to the arrival of the Aryans, and a contact had already been established with the Indus Valley. This is evident from the common king lists and the seals which have been discovered lately. Whether this culture was Semitic or Aryan is not yet decided; and perhaps cannot be decided till the Mohenjo Daro script is deciphered.

Some scholars in Pakistan have, indeed, put forward views that this script was originally Arabic. They have found some resemblance in the two scripts. Some years ago Maulana Jalal Nadvi published an admirable paper in the *Tarikh-o-Siasiat* of the Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu, in which he compared the alphabets of Arabic with the Indus Valley inscriptions, and proved that the script was derived from Arabic.

I had myself formed this opinion in 1944, and I published my views in a series of articles in the monthly *Burhan* of Nadwatul Musennefeen of Delhi. I am certain that it was the Semitic civilization which came to the Indus Valley, initially; and not the non-Semitic Sumerian. The Aryans came much later along the same routes.

The Semitic people had roamed in the vicinity of these areas much before the Aryans ever came

anywhere near it. And when did the Aryans come into the Fertile Crescent? History does not record any evidence of their presence before 2500 B.C.! It was, then, the Semitic people who civilised the Indians first.

I would like to pose a direct question here to our historians. Unfortunately, the science of Assyriology is unknown in our country; but some of our archaeologists can certainly devote thought to this important problem. The question is this: Why is it not possible to presume that the Aryans also are a lost tribe of the Semitic people?

Home of the Aryans

From pre-historic times people have roamed from place to place in search of pastures to graze their animals with the change of climates. Climatic rotation is a fact of history. There was a time when Arabia was green; at this time Europe was a desert, and probably the Poles were just about getting green!

Semitic tribes roamed to the north. When the climate again became adverse, they intelligently returned back to their home land. They had completely changed in their features and complexions, so as to be quite distinct from the parent stock.

The late Bal Ganga Dhar Tilak, the well-known commentator of Gita Rhasya, and a great Hindu scholar, has stressed the Polar attributes of the Aryan deities, in his book called *"Arctic Home in the Vedas"*. He is of the opinion that the Aryans came from the North Pole. The Poles were becoming icebound and the place had become uninhabitable. This to me seems quite plausible.

When talking of history, especially in so far as it concerns the movements of man, we must remember

one thing; and it is this: Humanity is sprung from one Man, and this man, according to the Holy Quran, made his first house of worship in Becca—the Mecca of today. It is indisputable that he must have been created in the vicinity of this place, and subsequently multiplied here. It was from here, therefore, that his various offshoots dispersed in different directions.

Mecca is the centre of the globe of the old world, and hence most suitable from a dispersion point of view. It was climatically most suitable then. Large groups of people went away from here and left in different directions, to come back again after prolonged wanderings, changed in manner and attire. They brought back a culture, which was superior to the culture of the static people who had been left behind.

Hence when mankind multiplied initially in the Fertile Crescent, it was purely a Semitic group. But when the people returned back in groups of varied numbers, they had become Sumerians, Akkadians, Hittites, Elamites, Assyrians, Mittanis, and what not. We might perhaps thank Max Muller for further creating the Aryan and non-Aryan classification of languages, thus making confusion worse confounded.

If we take the human race as one, and consider that the first house of worship was in Becca, then it necessarily follows that the first man must have been created in its vicinity, and mankind multiplied here; then we have arrived at the conclusion that the Aryans were a Semitic people, and the Indus Valley civilization is a Semitic civilization. The Sumerians are, therefore, not non-Semitic.

The Aryans and the Sumerians both then become Semitic people, sprung from the same man created in the vicinity of Mecca where he established his first house of worship.

THE DEVIL-WORSHIPPING YAZIDI TRIBE OF IRAQ

YAZIDIS are a Kurdish tribe, inhabiting the area situated along the hilly range extending from the north-east of Syria, called Jabal Sanjar to the heart of Kurdistan in Iraq along Jabal Maqlub, and to the highlands in Armenia. They number about 30,000. They possess general characteristics of Kurds, but are, at the same time, religiously different from them. They have been influenced by the religions of the East. Most of the Kurds are Shafai Muslims and some are Christians. One of the reason why very few people have visited and written about these people, is that the place, being mountainous, is almost inaccessible. Secondly some sections of the tribe are uncivilised and wild, living in caves on the hills of Sanjar. Yet it is surprising that in spite of their primitive outlook, they are very friendly and hospitable.

I was the fourth foreigner to visit Yazidis' holiest place, Sheikh Adi, situated in the heart of Kurdistan, on the Iraqi-Turkish border. This was disclosed to me by the local Qaim Muqam (governor) during the course of my visit in 1943.

I had read all available literature about Yazidis before arriving in Mosul in 1943. I stayed there for about six months and got every opportunity to learn

about Yazidis—sometimes staying in their houses for days together. I had made friends with Iraqi civil officials, who helped me in studying the tribal people, and when I wanted to visit the interior of the tribal region, the Iraqi officials would provide me with an escort and make other arrangements also.

Yazidis were first called by this name after the tragedy of Kerbala. Prior to this, they were known as Bazwaris. This was disclosed to me by the Qaim Muqam of this area who, after consulting the records, said that their association with Yazid, the son of Muawiyah, gave them that name. When Yazid was raising an army to fight with the meagre force of Imam Hussain, he could not find volunteers among the Muslim population of Iraq; so he hired these Bazwaris as mercenaries and sent them to fight against the Prophet's grandson. It is also said and widely believed in Iraq that it were these people who were actually responsible for the blood-shed at Kerbala. On another occasion, when I was going to Sheikh Adi, the Mecca of Yazidis, the Qaim Muqam told me, on the basis of his official records, that the first foreigner to visit that place was Sir Henry Layard, the famous archaeologist and excavator of Ninevah, in the XIX Century. The second visitor was the celebrated French archaeologist, Bota, and the third a British Major, during World War II. I had read the account of this Major's visit in an English journal just after his return to England; or may be he sent it to the Press while still on active service. My visit took place in August 1943 during the pilgrimage days. According to my information nobody has visited that place after me. As a result of inquiries made by me in 1951, when I was last in Baghdad, I

learnt that nothing further had been published about any visit to Sheikh Adi, also.

Origin of Yazidis

Yazidis are Kurds of Aryan stock and a remnant of the Mitani Hittites, who settled in that area about 1500 B.C. Originally, they were Zoroastrians and had built their fire temples on the hills, remains of which are still to be seen in that area. Layard has, however, pointed out that this contention is disputable, as the early Aryans who came this way, were also fire worshippers. I am inclined to agree with him as there is no mention of an Ahura in their mythology; and, on the contrary, there are references to the Aryan god, Ashura. It is also probable that, originally there may not have been much difference between the two words and they have undergone a metathesical change. According to the veteran Hindu Mahabharta scholar, Bal Ganga Dhar Tilak, fire worship was the creed of the early Aryans, which they seem to have carried with them when migrating from their original homes in Polar regions.

Religion of Yazidis

The early Aryan Trinity of Indra, Mithra and Viruna, also trickled down along with them into the Fertile Crescent and persisted as such for centuries to be modified only on their entry into India, into Brahma, Vishnu and Maheshwara. However, the awe-inspring "eternal" fires of Baku and Mosul must have also impressed these people when they came to settle by them. While Zoroastrians were flourishing in Media and Paras, the Bazwaris seem to have isolated themselves in the mountainous regions mentioned above.

Until the appearance of Christianity in these

regions the religious beliefs of these people were not much influenced by outsiders. Their fire worship was also, probably, the result of their imbibing the idea of the creation of Satan from fire maintained in the Old Testament. Since then, these people, instead of worshipping fire, have started worshipping the Devil (Satan), and are now more popularly known as worshippers of the Devil, whom they themselves call ملک طاؤس) Malik Taoos, or King Peacock! Yazidis do not call the Devil as Shaitan or Iblis and they get very annoyed if some one happens to utter "Iblis" or "Shaitan" in their presence.

Sheikh 'Adi

Muslims conquered northern regions of Iraq in their very early days. Thus Yazidis came to be ruled by them. Yazid son of Muawiyah, established the practice of sending a Governor to look after the affairs of Yazidis and administer their country. One such Governor was Adi Bin Musafar-al-Damishqi, a descendant of the house of Muawiyah. He was very pious and ranked among renowned mystics of his time. Sheikh Adi was very just, and Yazidis began to love him so much that they would prevent him even from going for pilgrimage to Mecca. On one such occasion they insisted that they would not allow him to go, and that they would make a 'Kaaba' for him in their own country! So, they installed a fountain, which they called Zam Zam. Close to it they put a black stone purporting to represent the *Hajar-i-Aswad!* Around this, they built a mausoleum when the old man was dead they buried him at this place, which also they named Sheikh Adi. This has now become a place of annual pilgrimage for Yazidis of all the three districts.

The hamlet of Sheikh Adi is situated in a valley about 50 miles north-west of Mosul. Half the road has to be covered on horseback. It is a beautiful green valley; and two white conical domes are visible from a long distance. The route from Mosul to this place passes through Ninevah and Ain Sifni (this place is associated with Noah's flood).

Ain Sifni means the Spring of the Boat. Noah is supposed to have constructed his Arc at this place before the Flood. Before entering the mausoleum ablution has to be performed with the spring water, which is called the Zam Zam, some of which has also to be sipped. The spring water has been taken inside the tomb through a small channel which projects into a tank, at one corner of which is placed a black stone, called *Hajar-i-Aswad*. This has been so much lubricated with linseed oil that its original colour cannot be recognised. Hundreds of earthen lamps are to be found inside the tomb, and the whole place smells of oil, soot and smoke. Two lamps are always kept lit. During the annual pilgrimage, people coming from outside light their lamps with these and take them away. On entering the tomb one sees carved on the right side of the doorway the picture of a snake—this is the Malik Taus! Satan is shown here as a serpent in accordance with the Biblical story. Around this tomb, in the valley, the hills have a large number of caves, like catacombs, in which pilgrims reside. I stayed for two days in the adjoining rest house, which is very comfortable and has been built for respectable visitors! I was accompanied by my friend, the 'Qaim Muqam.'

Malik Taus

Yazidis believe that Satan and God were great

friends. Once, as a result of an argument, differences developed between the two. Satan, being the weaker, was turned out of the heavens; and he established his own kingdom on the Earth. The word Malik is intended to signify, that Satan was once the most respectable of the angels. There is an Idol of Satan. This idol is made of bronze or some similar alloy. Pictures of Malik Taus are found in books, but the idol I saw differs somewhat from these pictures. May be all these idols are faked. To photograph Malik Taus is almost impossible: one cannot even have a glimpse of it as Yazidis will, at no cost, allow a non-Yazidi to see it. And if some influential foreigner, somehow managed to see Malik Taus the crowd there would be so furious that it would not be possible for him to view it satisfactorily. Moreover, these idols are always on the move among Yazidis and it is impossible for a foreigner to see one of them. Just before the annual pilgrimage all these idols return to Sheikh Adi. I, too, was only able to see one of them on this occasion.

The first person to describe Malik Taus was Sir Henry Layard in his book, Babylon and Ninevah. But this description does not seem to be reliable. Malik Taus is about two feet long and looks like the Papier Mache lamp of Kashmir. It has a small base. It has six parts which can be separted from each other. The use of screws, which join the six knobs, suggest that the idol is not very ancient. At the top of this structure the figure of a peacock is carved in a crude manner. Layard's picture of the idol shows it in five parts. I had learnt drawing a sketch of Malik Taus from my Yazidi friends and am, therefore, not likely to be mistaken.

The annual pilgrimage falls in August every year.

During one of these pilgrimages, the Yazidi tribesmen living in Jabal Sanjar, were proceeding in a procession, with the image, towards Sheikh Adi. Near Mosul, a caravan of Bedouins started plundering them. Seeing this, their priest (Qawwal), who was carrying the idol, hid it in the sands so that the Bedouins may not be able to see it. When the Bedouins had gone the priest searched for the idol but could not find it! Yazidis tried hard for three days but in vain. To hide their shame they had another idol made before entering Mosul.

From this story, which I learnt from one of their priests, it can be safely concluded that the idols are not difficult to make; and, probably, their number has not remained unchanged as there is always a possibility of their being lost or stolen. Therefore, all stories regarding their heavenly, or even ancient, origin are absolutely unfounded.

Yazidis have a religious book, which they call their Quran. Actually, it is the translation of some of the verses of the Holy Quran, which Sheikh Adi made for them; and they use it as their prayer book. I have seen this book, but was unable to obtain a copy of it.

Yazidis are also expecting the Messiah, who, they say, will preach in the Kurdish language. Obviously, this belief is the result of their contacts with Muslims and the Christians.

Yazidis are an illiterate people. I found only one primary school in the whole area. The Iraqi Government has not paid any attention to their education and they are quite aggrieved over this negligence.

Like other Kurds, Yazidis have high moral qualities. Their women observe *purdah*. If a Yazidi woman marries with an outsider she is at once ex-communi-

cated. Yazidis do not proselytise and their number is fast declining. Quite a number of them are being absorbed in Islam, and some have also embraced Christianity. It is estimated that within the next two decades Yazidis will completely vanish.

BARBAROSSA—A GREAT MUSLIM ADMIRAL

The Muslims had suffered great reverses in Spain in the early part of the sixteenth century. It was almost the end of their reign in the Iberian Peninsula. A wholesale expulsion of the Moors had already started from that land. Yet, and in spite of this, the era forms a spirited chapter of Islamic history.

We find the Turkish rule extending over the whole of the northern coast of Africa. We find attempts being made to recover the lost peninsula and other lands in Europe. At least, history records one such attempt to recover Gibraltar which had to be given up for lack of land support for the Islamic Naval Forces. The hero of this enterprise was Amir-ul-Behr (Admiral) Khair-ud-Din Barbarossa, popularly known as Barbarossa II. He lived in the reigns of Salim I and II, but his active career unfolded itself in the reign of Salim II. This was after the death of his celebrated brother, Barbarossa I.

The Turks had complete control over Morocco, Fez, Algeria, Tunis and Tripoli. This was the area from where originally the forces of Tarif and Tariq were drawn, who, initially and subsequently, attacked and conquered Spain. These were the people who comprised the Saracenic race. The descendants of

these conquerors are struggling valiantly today to regain their lost greatness, and perhaps "dreaming of some distant future which shall restore to them the Paradise of Granada, and the wealth of Andalusian Valleys."

The Family of Barbarossas

Many stories are related about the Barbarossa family and its conversion from Christianity. In one of them, it is related: "In the year 1474, a humble potter in the island of Mitylene—a Greek Christian—had a son born to him who was destined, after becoming a Mohammadan, to re-establish the supremacy of Muslim power on the Southern coasts of the Mediterranean. The youth, when twenty, changed his religion and took the name of Horush". (Russo-Turkish War, Vol. II, London, 1878). He was popularly called Baba Horush, "on account of his red beard and hence on account of this was called Barbarossa by the sailors of the Christian Powers for whom he had become a terror of the seas!" (*Ibid*). This statement is corroborated by Captain Walsin Esterhazy, who in 1840 stated in his History of the Turkish Rule in Africa that Barbarossa (red-haired) was a mispronunciation of Baba Arouj (Horush). "The contemporary Arab chronicle published by S. Rang and F. Davis in 1837 says explicitly that Barbarossa was the name given by Christians to Khair-ud-Din. The founder of the family was Yaqub, a Roumeliot, probably of Albanian blood, who settled in Mitylene after its conquest by the Turks. He had four sons, Elias, Arouj, Isaac and Khizr". (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*). Arouj and Khizr are respectively called Horush and Khair-ud-Din.

From this it will appear that all the four sons are born of a Muslim father and were not converts. It is

possible that their father, Yaqub, was himself a convert and belonged to the line of Christian Barbarossas. Personally, I think this name Barbarossa had nothing to do with the red beard. They were a convert family from the Christian Barbarossas, of whom at least we know of one, Frederic Barbarossa, who had fought against the forces of Sultan Salah-ud-din Ayubi in the third Crusade in the year 1187 and had died by drowning in the suburbs of Jerusalem when the Commander-in-Chief of the Islamic Forces retook that famous town. (*Intellectual Development of Europe*—William Draper).

His Naval Achievements

The Christian writers have called him a pirate Perhaps, the elder brother was one, when he started his career and history also records that he did sail along the coast of the Mediterranean capturing rich Spanish merchandise. But he was soon picked out as an outstanding naval commander by the Sultan of Turkey, and made an Admiral. The Turks had found that a large number of Turkish and Moorish adventurers had joined him, and he had created a great reputation for himself. After he became Admiral of the Turkish Fleet, he made Goletta, the harbour of Tunis, his headquarters. From here, he continually raided the Spanish coast with exiled Moors, and in company with his brother Khair-ud-Din.

Maulay Muhammad, the then Governor of Tunis, promised him all help against the Spanish rulers, who were throwing the Muslims out of Spain. "He was the dismay of the European merchant-vessels trading from port to port in those regions." (*Ibid*). He helped the Algerians in turning out the Spaniards from Al-gezirah. In one of the skirmishes he lost his arm.

This was in the year 1512 when he attempted to take Bougel from the Spaniards, and in 1514 he took Jijalli from Genoese. Seeing his success, Mauly Muhammad became jealous of him and withdrew his help. But this man of foresight overthrew him and himself became the ruler. In the year 1516 he declared himself an independent Sultan, and extended his rule up to the frontiers of Fez.' The Spaniards were greatly alarmed at his growing strength and, in 1518, they sent a very large force against him. He was defeated and killed while fighting at Rio Salado.

Khair-ud-Din Barbarossa had become an expert at sea under the vigilant care of his elder brother, and after his defeat and death his small kingdom was ably managed by him. He was a man of great talent and enterprise. His knowledge of naval strategy was a source of fear for the Christians. In 1519 Khair-ud-Din Barbarossa was recognised by the Ottoman Sultan as Beglerberg or Governor General of the Province of Algeria, which corresponded very much to the Algeria of today." (*Russo-Turkish War*, Vol. II). "As a combatant in the forefront of the war with the Christians he became a great hero of Islam. In 1534 he seized Tunis, acting as the Kapitan Pasha for Sultan Suleiman". (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*). This statement is supported by Lanepool's *Muhammadan Dynasties* which says: "Khair-ud-Din Barbarossa conquered Tunis in the name of the Ottoman Sultan in 1534 and placed a Spanish garrison at Goletta of Tunis the Province remaining chiefly in the hands of Corsairs who retook Tunis itself in 1568 and Goletta in 1574". The retaking must have happened under his son Hassan Barbarossa, as Khair-ud-Din died in the year 1546.

Actually, the rank conferred upon him was that of Qaputan-i-Darya, which rendered into English means Captain of the Seas Amir-ul-Behr), from where later the word Admiral was coined. "From this time the Turkish power on the northern coast of Africa was so strongly consolidated that none of the European nations could compete with it." (*Russo-Turkish War,* Vol. II).

Gibraltar Recaptured

He was constantly landing on and devastating the coasts and made himself master of the seas, and a terror for all. He was very quick in isolating Gibraltar immediately he had taken over command of the Turkish Fleet. He had resolved to recapture the lost port, and thereafter to thrust across into the heart of the peninsula. The Moors who had escaped from Spain helped him with intelligence about the country. But due to other pre-occupations he was not able to put into effect his plan for quite some time. His plans were fully known to his men, and even to his opponents. The Spaniards, therefore, were expecting him to attack any time, and kept themselves in readiness.

At last in 1540 he led his forces from Algeria to assault the fortress of the Rock. This had been heavily fortified by the Spaniards. They had even recalled Don Bernardio de Mendoza from Sicily to replace Admiral Don Alvaro de Bazan. On August 20, 1540, Barbarossa launched his attack with a fleet consisting of only 16 vessels, manned by 1,000 hands at the oars and 2,000 fighting troops. (*History of Gibraltar*—Sayar, 1862, London). In ten days' time he had landed at Gibraltar, after he had successfully hoodwinked the Spanish Armada. "The inhabitants, terrified and

unable to resist the furious energy of the blood—thirty Corsairs, shut themselves in the city". (*Ibid*). But the siege had to be called off, as I have said above, due to lack of support from the land forces.

Barbarossa II (Khair-ud-Din) died in 1546, leaving his son Hassan to continue his conquests. Barbarossa II's name has been immortalised in the ballads of Don Quixote, and in the second chapter of Robinson Crusoe.

CHINESE ART AND THE MUSLIM CRAFTMEN

The Western world is not yet aware of the full influence of Islamic Art and the part played by Muslim craftsmen in the execution of Chinese antiquities. We have ample evidence that Muslim artists were being imported into China at a very early date, and most of the Chinese antiquities, especially ceramics, now displayed in museums all over the world, were not only influenced by Muslim artists but were often their own creation.

The history of cultural contacts between the world of Islam and China, during the 15th, 16th, 17th and 18th centuries is just as misty as the history of the Muslim conquests of Central Europe. And, unfortunately, very little work is being done to bring to light the achievements of Muslims during this period of history.

The American *Weekly Time* (May 6, 1957), published an illustrated article on Chinese Art. This not only reproduced some well-known paintings but also gave specimens of bronze work and ceramics. An illustration entitled, "Jade Wine Vessel", made in the 18th century during the Ch'ieng dynasty, was the work of a Muslim craftsman. Time gave the following details:

"Wine pitcher was made in the 18th century for China's most fabulous art collector, Emperor Ch'ieng Lung, from Sinkiang jade, probably by a Mohammedan craftsman, has phoenix for spout and dragon atop cover".

Muslim Craftsmen

A careful perusal of the article and the reproductions convinced me that certain other illustrations were also the work of Muslim craftsmen. For instance, the "Cover Candy Dish" (Ming dynasty, 1464-1487) appeared to me to be the work of a Muslim craftsman. Their mode of drawing lines, and their colour selections are unique and inimitable, and outstanding in so far as the art of decoration is concerned. And again a painting captioned "Gentlemen and Attendants" (Ming dynasty) carried an Islamic atmosphere so frequently found in such pictures. The painting in the foreground has a sarcophagus of a tomb built in the Muslim fashion; not only this, the grave is symbolically introduced by Muslim painters into their work of art, especially when there are women about with trays loaded with bubbling wine. The entire content of this picture was Islamic, although its form was Chinese.

On seeing these reproductions, I wrote to the editors of *Time*, asking them for their views about my impressions. I received a reply from them dated June 25, 1957, which said:

"Concerning the Muslim influence you find in three of the Ming dynasty works of art, we would like to point out that with the various conquests and changes in land possessions it was natural that influences should be transmitted from culture to culture. As you may know, recently evidence of Greek classi-



The Incense Burner.

cal influence has been found as far east as India and Central Asia. It is quite true that during the reign of Ch'ieng Lung in the 18th century, thousands of artisans were employed at the Imperial Court, among them Mohammedan craftsmen from Sinkiang, some of whom may have been responsible for the exquisite white Jade Wine Vessel".

The Incense Burner

I had also written to them that I had in my possession certain similar pieces ceramics which bore Arabic inscription, and were supposed to be from Central Asia. To this they replied:

"As for the plates and bowls you possess, if, as you say, they are marked in Arabic script, then they certainly are not from the hand of Chinese craftsmen; and you yourself point out they came from Central Asia, which would indicate an entirely different area of origin than the Ming works."

This reply did not entirely satisfy me; for I could still perceive the Muslim hand behind what they called Chinese art!

Later, in 1958 while in London, I lost no time in visiting the museums. One day as I walked into the Victoria and Albert Museum in South Kensington, I rounded up my first tour of the enchanting place with a visit to its ceramics section. I suddenly found myself standing before a cupboard in which were displayed certain antiquities of Chinese art. Among them was an incense burner, glazed and of a bluish hue, on which was written the Muslim Kalimah in clear Arabic! Obviously, the fact had been overlooked and the inscription had not been deciphered—or, perhaps taken for Chinese; at least nothing was apparent from the caption, which simply said:

"C 156-1956—Incense Burner—Mark of Cheng Hua (1465-87) in under glased hue. Chinese first half of 17th century. Given by Sir Leigh Ashton F.S.A."

On the displayed sides, right and left, of the incense burner, I could very clearly read the Muslim Kalimah in the Arabic script, thus written in two bits of each side:

لااله الاالله محمد رسول الله

I took permission to photograph the specimen.

The contention, therefore, of the editors of *Time,* that because certain pieces of ceramics in my possession bore Arabic inscription they could not be from the hands of Chinese craftsmen, was incorrect. As I shall presently show, not only were Muslim craftsmen imported into China, but Chinese artists were converted to the religion of Islam, from whence they kept on deriving their inspiration. Here was a striking proof of what I had perceived in their selected illustrations.

Islamic art had penetrated into the very heart of China. The Chinese had accepted Islam and were producing artists. Chinese art in later days became an off-shoot of Islamic art through its blending in Central Asia. It is for this reason that in the later part of the 18th century we find the Kashgary art very much resembling Chinese art. The reason was that in both the places the cultural centres were dominated by Muslims and all cultures flowed in from the Muslim lands. There is also a subtle blending in the 18th century art of China, Central Asia and Asiatic Russia. This again was due to Islamic cultural predominance.

Diplomatic Relations between the Chinese and the Muslims

The relationship of Islam with Chinese civilisa-

tion began quite early in mediaeval history. It is almost simultaneous with the rise of the house of Chengis Khan, who himself was not a Muslim but whose immediate descendants adopted the religion of Islam at a very early date. When the family of the great Khan left their homeland in China, they did not at once break their contacts and relationship. We have detailed accounts of the embassies and the letters exchanged between the Emperor of China and Sultan Shah Rukh, the son of Amir Taimur. Abdul Razzaq has preserved this for us in his monumental work *Matla-us-Sadein. Habib-us-Seir* of Khwandemir also retains some of the accounts of these embassies. It must be appreciated that the author of *Matla-us-Sadein*, Kamal-ud-Din Abdul Razzaq was the son of Jalal-ud-din Ishaq of Samarqand, and was born at Herat on November 6, 1413 A.D. His father Ishaq resided at the Imperial Court of Sultan Shah Rukh, and held the respected post of a Kazi. Shah Rukh was the fourth son of Amir Taimur. This is the period of the Chinese Emperor Day-Ming, who was the third prince of the dynasty of Ming, and ascended the throne in the year 1403 A.D., five years before the first of their embassies was sent into Muslim lands. It must also be kept in mind that it was the founder of this dynasty, the father of this prince, during whose reign the famous Chinese art flourished under the Ming dynasty. It was in this period mostly that Islamic art influenced the Chinese and a large portion of China's population accepted Islam as their religion.

A perusal of ambassadorial correspondence shows that not only were costly presents exchanged but also craftsmen. Last, but not least, the Muslim monarch

also carried out his duties as a preacher; for he continuously kept inviting the Chinese Emperor to the religion of Islam.

In an introduction to one of the letters translated by Sir William Chambers, and published in the well-known collection *History and Antiquities* (Vol. II, London, 1792), he says:

"As the Emperor of China had not yet assented to the Mussalman Faith, nor regulated his conduct by the law of the Koran, His Majesty, from motives of friendship, sent him a letter of good advice in Arabic and Persian, conceiving that perhaps the Emperor might be prevailed upon to embrace Islam."

This is actually the impression one gets from the letter dated May 26, 1408 A.D.; a reproduction of which would be of interest here.

صورت مکتوب فارسی اقتباس از مطلع السعدین

بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم لااله الاالله محمد رسول الله

بجانب دای منک بادشاه از شاه رخ سلطان سلام مالا کلام چون
خداوند تعالی بحکمت بالغه و قدرت کامله آدم علیه السلام بیا فرید و
بعضے فرزندان اورا پیغمبر و رسول گردایند و براستی بخلق فرستاد تا
آدمیان را بحق دعوت کنند .... و مجموعه این رسولان ....
شریعتی مخصوص بود اما همه در توحید خدای متفق بودند چون نوبت
رسالت و پیغمبری بر رسول ما محمد مصطفی صلی الله علیه وسلم رسید
شریعتهای دیگر منسوخ گشت و او رسول و پیغمبر آخرالزمان شد -

TIPU SULTAN

(Man and his Personality)

THE versatile personality of Tipu Sultan has not yet been fully unfolded. This is partly due to the insufficient material available from our original sources of history of that period, and partly due to the frequent distorted representation by contemporary English historians. Dr. Mahmud Hussain in his learned contribution to the *History of Freedom Movement*, says, "The English writers considered him the most obstinate enemy of their interests, and therefore they felt justified in falsifying history. There was no fault which they did not ascribe to him".

Dr. Mahmud Hussain's assertion is quite correct; yet, there are one or two instances where we do find a faithful representation of the character of Tipu Sultan, from where we can get some glimpses of this great man. Tipu Sultan was undoubtedly a shrewed statesman, a seasoned soldier, an astute diplomat, and a cultured personality. He had studied ferociously and written extensively. His personality was potentially versatile, as I shall presently show from a firsthand account of this Mujahid, as given in the recollections of a responsible Englishman, who had participated in the wars of the South.

Authentic Account

Edward Moore, the author of *Hindu Pantheon,* has a book entitled *Oriental Fragments.* This was published in the year 1834 by Smith Elder & Co. Cornhill, London. Himself a soldier of repute, Edward Moore had participated in the wars against Tipu Sultan, and gives some faithful and unique glimpses of that period, especially in so far as they concern the character and ability of Tipu Sultan. These accounts are firsthand and we have no reason to doubt their authenticity.

In a brief dedication to this book which is addressed to Major David Price, he says, "Our destinies have been nearly parallel, over considerable portion of the course of our lives. In early day we started as 'Soldiers of Fortune' for the same country. So early as 1783 we were, though then unknown to each other, within gunshot perhaps, in military operation against Tipoo on the coast of Malabar." The book can therefore be considered as one of the earliest sources of history of that period. These Fragments comprise of varied subjects. They range from the Seals of Tipu Sultan to the siege of Saringapatam: from Snake Stone to Sanskrit names, in various countries. This soldier scholar is at home with all the subjects he discusses and appears to be at heart an Orientalist!

The end of the great Sultan is described by Dr. Mahmud Hussain as follows: "It was the 4th of May in the year 1799 when Tipu Sultan fought valiantly and tried his best to stem the flow of English soldiers through the breeches but in doing so received fatal wounds. Later his body was found among the hundreds of dead. That was the end of Tipu Sultan's glorious end." Edward Moore quotes a letter from



The Seals of Tipu Sultan and Hyder Ali
(Reproduced from Oriental Fragments)

General Palmer, "Puttun fell on the 4th—The Sultan was killed—his family and capital are in our possession—his armies were submitting—the slaughter, and loss were great." This was the end of the great Mujahid!

Not Oppressive

Edward Moore recalls certain personal impressions which throw immense light on The Man, Tipu Sultan. Says he, "Tipoo's government could not have been very oppressive; and his country must have been one of great resources. Notwithstanding the frequency of his wars, his accumulation of personal property in Saringapatam was immense. The cities and towns and villages of his dominions were generally in a flourishing state. . . On the score of devastation I can speak extensively; for I served for two years of that war with the worst of all devastators the Mahratta."

Considering the large number of his enemies, Tipu Sultan always remained in a very difficult situation. He never even had the chance to get somebody on his side. He not only had to deal with internal diplomacy, but international diplomatic relations had to be probed, which were not very helpful. He was not only faced with his most formidable enemy the English, but he also had to face the forces of the Mahrattas and the Nizam. The French were occasionally a problem to him, because they would neither say 'yes' nor 'no' to his frantic calls! They themselves were involved in the Treaty of Versailles, and could not commit; and when the time of Napolean came it was too late. The Muslim monarchs were themselves impotent, and the British diplomacy hoodwinked the Sultan to his utter amazement. Tipu was fighting all the time

single-handed against all his enemies who very often joined hands. But Tipu never for once disheartened. The English and the Marhattas not only exorted from him land out of his territory but all his resources of cash. Yet Tipu within the span of short periods organised and reigned over flourishing empire which he used to rebuild quickly. He had never despaired for a moment and proved a Mujahid in the real sense. He restored his fortresses and equipped his army well, made his subjects wealthy and prosperous in the twinkling of an eye. This man must have mastered the art of handling the problems of life.

It will be surprising for most people to know, that in spite of Tipu Sultan spending most of his time in fighting, he was a great connoisseur of art and literature. His personal collection of antiquties was magnificent. Even while he was fighting he could manage to collect rare pieces of jewellery and manuscripts to decorate his museum. He was a lover of books and his library at that time was the best library that existed in the subcontinent. Unfortunately, his treasures were mercilessly looted and sold at ridiculously low prices in the markets of London. Edward Moore says, "Tipoo had collected a most splendid assemblage of jewellery. Every Officer (I am not sure of every officer. It may have been only Generals, Field officers and Captains) of the conquering army had a portion, according to his rank, assigned to him, in part, of his share of his booty."

Rare Library

As for the library of Tipu Sultan, our author says, "Tipoo's library which was found, in articles of rarity, beauty and value, on a scale corresponding with his extensive assemblage of jewellery." Tipu

Sultan's collection was not a random collection of jewellery and books, but they had artistic value and were priceless. Edward Moore describes instances of prodigious sale. One of his stories needs to be reproduced here to substantiate our view.

Valuable Bangles

"Soon after the capture, a drummer of one of His Majesty's regiments brought a pair of bangles (wrist ornaments) to the assistant surgeon, to purchase. The medical gentleman, however, skilled professionally, knew little of gems! He thought the bangles handsome, and gave the glad finder a hundred rupees for them.... After the perusal of his duties.... he bethought him of his bangles. Showing one to a friend, it was pronounced of great value, and to cut my story short, the pair proved worth thirty thousand pounds!"

Another true story about one of Tipu Sultan's books may well be cited here to prove the value of his collection. Says the author of *Oriental Fragments*:

"My old friend and brother Adjutant Captain Massey Fitz-Gerald—an excellent soldier, and an accomplished gentleman—bought a book, a few days after the conquest from a soldier for five rupees.... He sent it to me at Bombay.... I showed the book to Colonel Barry Close...... He valued it at 2000 rupees... I soon sold it for that sum say £250 to N. H. Smith Esq. of Bombay Civil Service.

His Scholarship

It must be appreciated that Edward Moore is no ordinary man, and we have no reason to doubt his statement. He was at the time of the siege of Saringapatam the Quarter Master General at Bombay. This was during the time Mr. Duncan was the Governor in that province. It was through this Governor that the then Viceroy of India finally formulated a strategy

to exterminate Tipu Sultan, by getting all the enemies of Tipu on his side, and by side tracking the Sultan in his diplomatic correspondence with the Sultan of Turkey.

Two Opinions

Edward Moore is of the opinion that Haider Ali himself was illiterate, and it is not possible that he could himself have laid the foundation of such a magnificent library. On the other hand Dr. Mahmud Hussain has found certain discrepancies in the writings of Tipu Sultan from which he opines that Tipu could not have been well tutored, as the spelling and grammatical mistakes committed by Tipu in writing down his dreams (*Dreams of Tipu Sultan*) reveals him as a person poorly educated. Dr. Mahmud Hussain says in the *History of Freedom Movement*, "the assertions of certain contemporary authorities about his scholarship and literary attainments are obvious exaggerations." True as it may be, we cannot ignore yet another assertion of Edward Moore in the same *Oriental Fragments*, wherein he says, "Tipoo was among the most industrious of mortals. His pen must have been for ever in his hand. Copies of an immense number of his despatches and letters were found. Many of these were selected, arranged, translated, and published with curious and valuable notes, by that accomplished orientalist and diplomatist Colonel Kirkpatrick...... From the management of a treaty, or of a war, with the English, to the formation of a pin, the instructions were all his own...... All, all was his own doing and dictation." Dr. Mahmud Hussain has referred to Kirk Patrick's *Select letters of Tipu Sultan*—London 1811, in one of his footnotes to his article, published in the *History of Freedom Movement.*

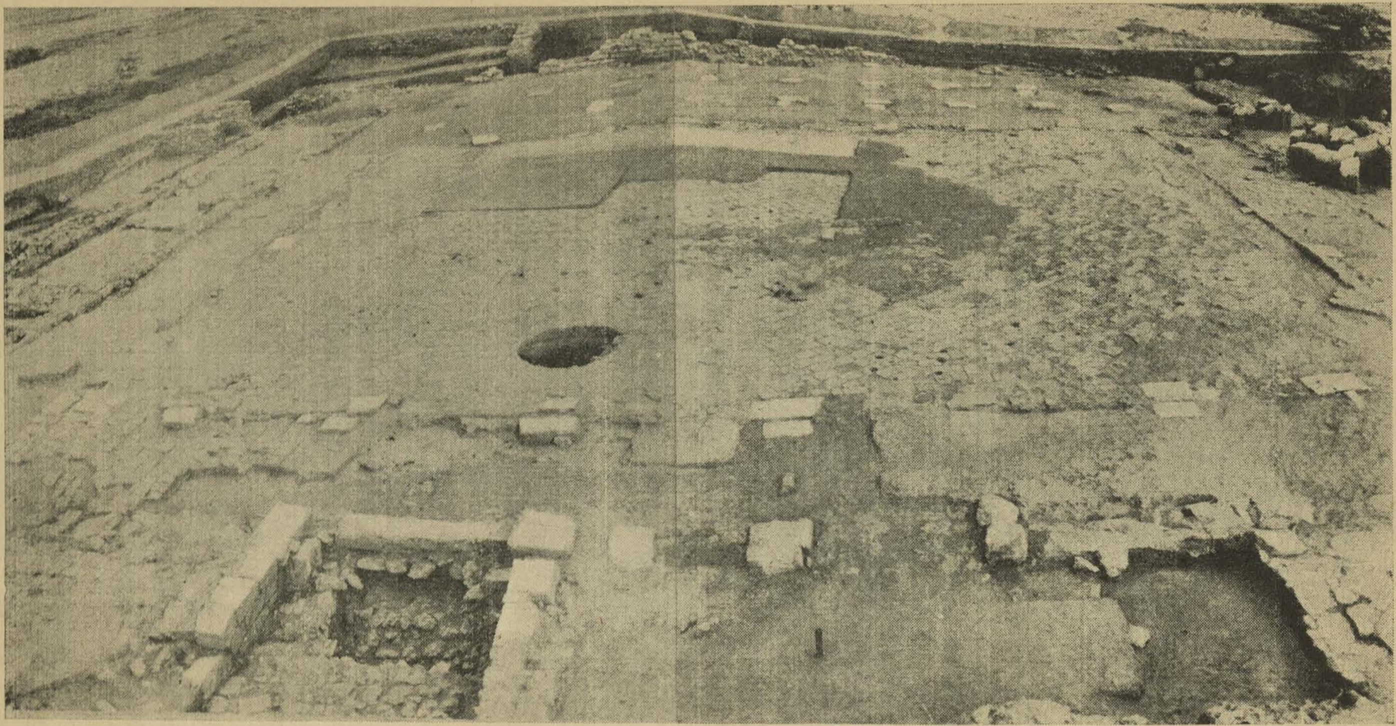
The magnificent library of Tipu Sultan was catalogued by Major Price. A select portion of this library was set apart for the Library of East India Company in London. Another portion of this library was presented to the Calcutta College. Major Charles Stewart who was perhaps the Principal of this college then, prepared and published a catalogue of the books he had received from Tipu Sultan's library. This was published in Cambridge in 1809 by Longman and Co.

From this short account it will have become clear that Tipu Sultan was a man of no mean intellectual achievement. The mere fact that he committed certain spelling mistakes should not deter us from accepting him as a literate person. For a man who is drowned in activity round the clock, care of spellings is a minor detail; and especially when we see him dictating his despatches (which shows that he had no time for writing either) the efficiency of which is acknowledged by Edward Moore and other foreigners, we have more reason to be surprised at his literary acumen. It is clear that he must have jotted down his dreams in a hurry. And then the history of development of the Persian and Urdu languages in this subcontinent shows that the spellings have been varying from time to time. The dialect and script of the Persian language in that distant corner of the subcontinent was bound to differ, due to its remoteness from the parent country. Even today we find in Pakistan Persian-speaking families who have spent a few generations here whose speech and writings in that language are phonetically and grammatically defective. Yet, among these there are some who cannot be ignored as literary assets. To dictate hundreds of letters and despatches is no ordinary joke. If

he could speak correct language, which could be correctly translated, he could certainly write a correct script also, according to the standards prevalent in that country.

Alert Personality

In the short span of his life Tipu Sultan had too many affairs to attend to. One is struck with admiration to find him alert all around. At one time he is busy with fighting his enemies, at another time he is seen organising his troops and looking after the social welfare of his people, making efforts at their prosperity; yet another time we see him corresponding with foreign monarchs to establish diplomatic relations. Tipu Sultan's personality is perhaps the best example of a restless soul of a ruling monarch struggling for independence against great odds that can be given from human history.



A view of Central position of Jamia Masjid Bhambhor
(By courtesy of the Director of Archaeology)

THE BHAMBHORE MOSQUE

Recently, there has been a tendency in some quarters to prove that the site at Bhambhore, where the earliest mosque in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent has been discovered, "was the base of Hindu Temple". I do not think that the Archaeological Department has denied a conclusion like that or has ever refuted an earlier templer foundation. In fact, Dr. F. A. Khan has already given out that besides the Hindu deities, carved Shiva Lingas have been discovered in the vicinity of the mosque, which indicate a still earlier cult of Linga worship to that of the Sun worship. And if I am not giving out a secret of the Archaeological Department, I have come to know that a symbol of Shiva Linga has been discovered by the Archaeological Department embedded in the very foot steps of the enterance to the mosque, which symbolises the trampling of a heathen practice. The indication of a Sun Temple is therefore of no significance, as it does not reduce the importance of the discovery of the earliest mosque. Further, the critics themselves admit the display of certain Hindu deities in tents of the Bhambhore museum:

The assumption that the mosque has steps on all four sides is an incorrect assertion. It is evident to any one visiting the place that the mosque

has steps on two sides only. The main enterance is on the eastern side. The other steps are on the northern side, where the main inscriptions have been discovered. There are no steps on the southern side. The steps on the western side are on a higher plane to that of the mosque and away from it. They are in no way related to the mosque, being outside its walls. The wall on the western side is a complete whole and unbroken, as is evident from the photograph reproduced here. This western wall is seen in the back ground of the photograph, while the main enterance to the mosque is clearly seen in the fore ground of the picture. It was here that the Linga was found burried. The photograph reproduced here is to be studied with great care, as it refutes almost all the points raised by the critics.

The same picture also refutes the Terrace theory. I request the learned writers to study the photograph of the Wasit mosque along with the one herein published. Any one will be able to make out two things clearly; viz:

(1) The prayer chamber in both is unpaved. The marks of four rows of pillar bases in the Bhambhore mosque, and five rows in the Wasit mosque can be made out.

(2) On the two sides, two rows of each pillar bases can be seen in both the mosques. This is for the Hujras.

These are not pillar shafts "to mark the passage to the centre of the Terrace to reach the deity" but they carried a roof atop for protection of the faithful from the scorching sun. The pillars on the sides supported Hujrahs (living rooms or study chambers) as is in vogue to this day.

Again the critics stress that the square form of the temple should be kept in view as, "the square is a leading symbol," and quote Dr. Stella Kramrish from The Hindu Temple in support of their argument. This does not refute the fact that the mosque also has the square as the leading symbol. Can the learned critics indicate a mosque which has a circular or a triangular base? The mere fact that the Bhambhore mosque contains Hindu deities does not nullify the discovery of the mosque. Whether the Hindu temple existed on the site or not is not the question (this has not been denied by Dr. F. A. Khan nor by Mr. Mumtaz Hassan): the question is; that the structure discovered is a mosque in its present form and NOT a temple, and it is the earliest mosque built by the Muslims on this sub-continent. The critics again admit, "there are many mosques in India which were actually founded on the Vastumandala Square dial of ancient Hindu temple". Why not then admit that this mosque also belongs to same class of structures.

The controversy regarding the origin of the Mehrab is being based on the presumption that the Kufa and the Wasit mosques have Mehrab in their present form is not a tenable argument that it has always been there. I have visited Kufa myself on two occasions, and have seen the Mehrab. This is a later addition in the original structure; for, the original construction in the words of K.A.C. Creswell is as follows: Creswell derives his information from the celebrated Muslim scholars like Baladhuri and Tabari. In his book called, '*A short account of Early Muslim Architecture*', he says, "At Kufa, founded in A.D. 638, the first mosque was equally primitive. Its boundries were fixed by a man who threw an arrow towards the Qibla, then another towards the north,

another towards the west, and a fourth towards the east. A square with two arrowcasts in length was thus formed. This area was not enclosed by walls but by a ditch only". Where did the Mehrab lie then? In the ditch?

Talking of the mosque at Wasit, Creswell says again, "the excavators were a little worried because there was no concave niche in the centre of the Qibla wall, until I pointed out that this was exactly as it ought to be, for the concave mehrab was introduced for the first time when Al-Walid rebuilt and enlarged the mosque at Madina in 707-9". Do the critics still think that the "Kufa and Wasit mosques have their Mehrabs intact?" The Kufa Mehrab as it exists today is a much later addition, which can be made out by any one visiting the place.

In view of what I have briefly enumerated above, the structure discovered at Bhambhore is nothing but a mosque and it is the earliest Muslim House of Worship in this sub-continent. The Director of Archaeology is to be congratulated on this unique discovery. It is hoped that in the very near future he and his staff will lay bare many more interesting discoveries which will be welcomed by every lover of early history of our Mother-land—Pakistan.

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